THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY BULLETIN

(5)

NUMBER 5 · APRIL 1934

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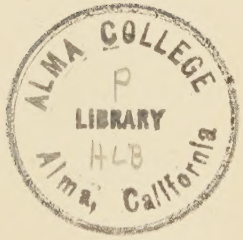
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CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1934

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PRINTED AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U. S. A.

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THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY BULLETIN

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Summary Report on the Hastings Manuscripts

COMPILED BY

THE STAFF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

Introduction

THE manuscripts described in this report are the muniments, correspondence, and other papers of the Hastings family, covering the period from *ca.* 1101 to 1892.

This family held, at various times, the titles of Baron Hastings of Hastings, Hastings of Hungerford, Botreaux, Moleyns, Hungerford, and Earl of Huntingdon. Their principal estates were located in the counties of York and Leicester. The main branch of the family, which descended from William Hastings, Steward to Henry II, by his first marriage with Maude Banaster, is represented in this collection by only an occasional document. It is to the cadet branch, descended from the same William by his second marriage with Ida, daughter of Henry, Count of Eu, that most of these papers refer. The most prominent figure in this family, before the Earldom of Huntingdon was conferred upon it, appears to have been William, Baron Hastings (1430–83), who held many high offices under Edward IV and was beheaded for treason during the Protectorate of the Duke of Gloucester. There are numerous papers of this period, but the greatest proportion of the 50,000 pieces in this collection falls into the three centuries after 1600.

The provenance of certain large groups of papers within the collection, such as the Irish Papers, will be discussed under those sections, but the source of innumerable smaller groups, particularly among the deeds, is most readily discovered by reference to the genealogical outline, where marriages into the Hastings family usually explain their presence. This outline is, in fact, intended to be used as a general guide to the accumulation and transmission of this collection of papers, and as such makes no attempt to include all members of the family. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to verify each step by historical investigation. The outline stops with the present descendant of this branch of the family, from whom the manuscripts were obtained, through the firm of Maggs Brothers, in 1926.

Bibliographical information concerning the collection may be found in two publications: (1) Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the late Reginald Rawdon Hastings, Esq., of the Manor House, Ashby de la Zouch* (1928–); and (2) *The Huntingdon Papers* (1926), a catalogue prepared by Maggs Brothers, containing a number of facsimiles. Serious omissions prevent either of these works from being a satisfactory and comprehensive survey of the collection. The Historical Manuscripts Commission *Report* was based upon the documents sent to the Public Record Office for calendaring, and omits the Scotch Papers, practically all of the hundred and fifty royal deeds, and numerous other documents and letters. The Maggs catalogue, intended only as a selection, contains brief descriptions of most of the royal deeds and some of the most important letters, but entirely omits the accounts, manorial papers, and several other large groups.

The manuscripts have been arranged in several groups to facilitate their use by readers. This division is not necessarily permanent, but the present arrangement has been thought most suitable for the Library's purposes until such time as the manuscripts can be catalogued. These groups, comprising the entire Hastings collection, will be described individually, with one exception: namely, about a thousand documents relating to the transfer, mortgage, etc., of the estates of Francis, 2d Earl of Moira, from 1800 to 1826, which have been left in their original bundles, as they are of such a late date and such exceedingly narrow interest. They will not be mentioned further.

The following headings have been used in describing the manuscripts within each group:

Period covered:

This gives inclusive dates and mentions particular periods which are either poorly or well represented.

Subject matter:

Briefly indicated.

Persons represented:

It has been impossible to give inclusive lists in dealing with such a large collection. Names of persons have generally been chosen either because of their importance or because of the large quantity of their papers. In the report on the Manorial Papers, where the personal name is of less importance, the names of the manors or other property, arranged under their respective counties, have been substituted.

Important or interesting items:

These have been selected to serve three purposes:

1. To indicate the nature of the manuscripts to be found in each division, by describing a few typical and representative items.
2. To call attention to certain manuscripts which may contain information of more than ordinary interest to scholars, and at the same time make known their present location, which is useful even in the case of copies and manuscripts already in print.
3. To describe some manuscripts having features of particular bibliographical or palaeographical significance, such as an early binding, handwriting, and uncommon autographs.

This report has been prepared by the members of the Department of Manuscripts. In spite of the necessity of assigning various parts of the report to different individuals and of adopting a summary method of describing a large group of manuscripts, it is hoped that a reasonable standard of uniformity and accuracy has been attained.

R. B. Haselden
H. C. Schulz

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I. Accounts and Inventories

Period covered:

The chronological distribution of the manuscripts falling within the classification of accounts, inventories, and financial papers in general, which total approximately 20,000 pieces, may be indicated as follows:

13th cent. (1281)	1 piece
14th cent. (1326–97)	14 pieces
15th cent. (1403–84)	17 pieces
16th cent. (1515–98)	58 pieces
17th cent. (1605–99)	1,600 pieces (approx.)
18th cent. (1700–1799)	10,000 pieces (approx.)
19th cent. (1800–1891)	8,000 pieces (approx.)

Subject matter:

1. General accounts (1281–1891):
 - *a*) Estate and household accounts:
 - (1) Salaries, etc.
 - (2) Building and repairs
 - (3) Stable
 - (4) Garden
 - (5) Wood
 - (6) Grain mills
 - (7) Town house in London
 - (8) Furnishings
 - (9) Provisions
 - *b*) Personal expenses:
 - (1) Traveling: meals, fees, transportation, etc.
 - (2) Clothing and other personal necessities
 - *c*) Legal and financial affairs: bonds, warrants, acquittances, obligations, and bills for legal services
 - *d*) Ivanhoe Baths (1821–28): wages, other expenditures, and general statements concerning these baths in Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire
 - *e*) Bills addressed to the Marquess of Hastings while in India (1821–22)
2. Irish accounts (1615–1751) — approximately 125 pieces:
 - *a*) Documents (1650–57) of George Monck, 1st Duke of Albemarle, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1660 to 1662: accounts relative to his land holdings in the county of Wexford, rentals, records of money received and disbursed, and a few military accounts

b) Personal accounts of the Rawdon family:
(1) Sir George Rawdon, 1st Bart. (fought in Ulster against the native Irish, 1641–49)
(2) Sir Arthur Rawdon, 2d Bart.
(3) Edward Conway, 1st Earl of Conway (brother-in-law of Sir George Rawdon)

c) Personal accounts of Sir James Grahame, Governor of Drogheda (1640–70)

d) Accounts relative to the Irish estate of Lucy Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon (1662–68)

3. Coal accounts (1606–1890): expenses and profits connected with the operation of the Moira Colliery and other coal mines in Derbyshire belonging to the Hastings family. About 300 pieces

4. Land accounts:
a) Papers relating to the collection of rents on the Hastings estates (1547–1844): receipts, arrearage lists, fee-farm accounts, and records of disbursements out of the rental revenues. About 300 pieces

b) Receipts for the payment of various taxes and assessments, such as land taxes, constables' levies, poor levies, highway levies, window taxes, and church levies (1636–1798). About 500 pieces

5. Inventories (1596–1870): lists of household possessions (partially evaluated) of the Hastings family, at Ashby de la Zouch, Donington, and Castle Loudoun. About 75 pieces

Persons represented:

There are accounts addressed to or concerning almost all the important members of the Hastings family. The families of the Earls of Moira and Earls Ferrers are represented by accounts which begin about 1665 and which antedate their marriage alliances with the Hastings family.

Important or interesting items:

1281, Mar. 12	Milicent de Monte Alto. Release by her to Roger la Zusche for his account of receipts and expenses from the first day of his employment to the Feast of the Purification, 9 Edward I. (With her nearly perfect oval seal)
1308, Jan. 8	Pickering, William de, Archdeacon of Nottingham. Receipt. (With seal)
1459, Nov. 12	Percy, Eleanor Despenser, Countess of Northumberland, and others. Obligation to Lady Margaret Hungerford and John Fortescue

1460, Aug. 13	Countess of Northumberland. Obligation. (With the Westminster Staple Seal)
1463, Jan. 28	Chesilden, John. Receipt
1463, May 23	Chesilden, John. Receipt
1468, July 8	Chesilden, John. Obligation (partly in English)
1535, July 7	Howard, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. Receipt (signed and sealed)
1538, Oct. 12	Litherland, Agneta, Prioress of Grace Dieu Monastery in Leicestershire. Obligation to George Hastings, 1st Earl of Huntingdon [1]
1546, Nov. 9	Acquittance of a sum paid to Henry VIII for the debts of 1st Earl. Signed by William Cavendysh and Thomas Knot
1550–71	Churchwardens' accounts, Ashby de la Zouch
*1564,[2] Mar. 25–Sept. 29	Wages of household servants of 3d Earl
1584, Oct. 30–1585, Oct. 2	Household expenses of 3d Earl
1596, Apr. 26	Funeral expenses of 3d Earl
1596, June 30	Inventory of the goods and chattels of 3d Earl, at York, by Rowland Fawcet, William Souley, and William Pereson. With an additional inventory of the armor and munitions at Kingston-upon-Hull (evaluated)
1596, Oct. 4	Inventory of the goods of 3d Earl which came into the possession of 4th Earl, at Ashby de la Zouch (evaluated)
1598	Household expenses (listed under "Panterie," "Butterie," "Kitichen," "Saltestoores," and "The Darie")
1623–38	Churchwardens' account, Castle Donington
*1628, Apr. 26–June 20	Daily lists of provisions consumed at Donington House. (There are similar lists dated 1632, Apr. 5–1633, Apr. 4; 1643/4, Jan. 8–1644/5, Jan. 7; 1654, Dec. 11–1655/6, Jan. 2; and 1655/6, Feb. 10–1666, May 18)
1633–35	Inventory of household goods of 5th Earl, at Donington House. Made in 1633 and reviewed and altered in 1635 by John Thorpe. (2 vols.)

[1] Hereafter, the Earls of Huntingdon will be referred to merely as 1st Earl, 2d Earl, etc.

[2] The items marked with an asterisk are described by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Hastings Manuscripts*, I.

*1634, May 15–1635, Apr. 23	Household expenses of Alice, Countess of Derby, while living at Harefield
*1638, Oct. 1–1640, Jan. 27	Bookseller's bill, noting among other purchases a copy of Shakespeare's works in folio for £1 2*s.*
1692, Aug. 19–1693, Mar. 8	Apothecary's bill to 7th Earl
*1727	Accounts of the executors of Sir Isaac Newton
ca. 1740	Catalogue of the books of Lady Elizabeth Hastings which she bequeathed to George Hastings, son of 9th Earl
1742, June 25–Dec. 25	School expenses of George Hastings

II. Correspondence

A. 1477–1699

Period covered:

There are approximately 4,500 pieces included in the correspondence before 1700, which may be grouped as follows:

	Years	*Number of Pieces*
15th cent.:	1477	1
16th cent.:	1528–44	4
	1555–65	20
	1566–76	14
	1577–87	132
	1588–99	96
17th cent.:	1600–1609	125
	1610–19	125
	1620–29	354
	1630–39	144
	1640–49	219
	1650–59	133
	1660–69	429
	1670–79	844
	1680–89	858
	1690–99	945

It may be noted that after 1660 the business correspondence increases, and political correspondence becomes less predominant.

Subject matter:

1. Political correspondence:
 a) Letters of rulers, officers of state, and such official bodies as the Privy Council, the Commission for the Subsidies, the Board of the Green Cloth, and the Commission of the Treasury, addressed to 3d and 4th Earls as lord lieutenants of the counties of Leicester, Rutland, and Derby, and to other county officials. These letters deal with:
 (1) Anglo-Scotch affairs, during the time when 3d Earl was Lord President of the North, particularly in 1581
 (2) The imprisonment of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1569
 (3) The levying and transporting of troops for foreign service, and the drilling of the county trained bands
 (4) Compositions for knighthood
 (5) Purveyance and composition for purveyance
 (6) The detection and punishment of recusants
 (7) Subsidies and other levies of money
 b) Correspondence between the Earls of Huntingdon and the deputy lieutenants of Leicestershire and Rutland, and other town and county officers, concerning elections, appointments, levies, surrender of charters, etc. (1620–90)
 c) Correspondence of 7th Earl:
 (1) With Lady Huntingdon and others, during his imprisonment in the fortress at Plymouth (1688, Nov.–Dec.)
 (2) With fellow Tories during the exile of James II in France (1690–95)
 (3) With friends and officers of state during his imprisonment in the Tower (1692)
 d) Seventy-eight news-letters, chiefly to the Earls of Huntingdon (1635–95). Most of these are dated between 1670 and 1695, fifty being between the years 1690 and 1692 alone.
2. Military correspondence:
 a) Letters from Henry Carey, 1st Baron Hunsdon, and others, to 3d Earl, concerning the troops on the Scotch border (1581)
 b) Correspondence of Henry Hastings, Baron Loughborough, as high sheriff and colonel general of Leicestershire, and commander of a regiment of horse for Charles I. This includes twenty-nine letters from Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles I, as well as letters from many of the Royalist leaders (1642–45).
 c) Correspondence of 7th Earl, Colonel of the 13th Regiment of Foot, with officers and men of his regiment (1685–88)

3. Personal and business correspondence:
 a) Hastings family
 (1) Personal letters
 (*a*) Family and social correspondence
 (*b*) Public news
 (*c*) Congratulations, condolences, etc.
 (*d*) Negotiations for marriages
 (2) Letters concerning charitable foundations of the family:
 (*a*) Etwall Hospital [1]
 (*b*) Repton School [1]
 (*c*) The hospital at Stoke Poges
 (*d*) Dilhorne School
 (*e*) Gifts to Oxford and Cambridge
 (3) Letters relating to the plantations in America
 (4) Business correspondence dealing with:
 (*a*) The estates of the Hastings and Lewis families in England and Ireland
 i) Rents
 ii) Administration
 iii) Sales and loans
 iv) Suits and other legal affairs
 (*b*) Orders to tradespeople, and requests by them and other creditors for payment
 b) A small group of Ferrers and Shirley family letters

Persons represented (by ten or more letters each):

Abney, Sir Edward
Atkinson, Charles
Barrodale, Sir Henry, 2d Bart.
Beaumont, Sir Henry, 2d Bart.
Bonneville, Marie de
Bret, Daniel
Brookes, Theophilus
Charles I
Croft, Bridget
Davys, Ferdinando
Davys, John
Davys, Matthew
Davys, Tristram

[1] Cf. also XII, D, Repton School and Etwall Hospital.

Dighton, Christopher
Douglas, Lady Eleanor
Eames, John
Egerton, Alice, Viscountess Brackley
Elizabeth, Queen
Everard, Robert
Gery, John
Hastings, Lady Christiana
Hastings, Elizabeth (Lewis), Countess of Huntingdon
Hastings, Elizabeth (Stanley), Countess of Huntingdon
Hastings, Ferdinando, 6th Earl
Hastings, Sir Francis
Hastings, Gabriel
Hastings, Sir George, 4th Earl
Hastings, George, 8th Earl
Hastings, Henry, 3d Earl
Hastings, Henry, 5th Earl
Hastings, Henry
Hastings, Henry, 1st Baron Loughborough
Hastings, Knyvett
Hastings, Lucy, Countess of Huntingdon
Hastings, Theophilus, 7th Earl
Heath, Robert
Hill, Thomas
Ingram, Robert
Jackson, John
James I
James II
Jaques, Gervase
Johnston, Nathaniel
Jolliffe, Lady Mary
Jolliffe, Sir William
Jones, Alexander
Langham, Sir James
Leke, Mary, Countess of Scarsdale
Leke, Robert, 3d Earl of Scarsdale
Leveson, Anne
Lister, Nicholas
Lloyd, John
Ludlam, Thomas

Morgan, Charles
Nicholas, Sir Edward
Piddocke, Thomas
Pole, Reginald, Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury
Ridley, Nevile
Salusbury, Thomas
Smart, Ithiel
Smithsby, J.
Stanhope, Arthur
Stanhope, Charles
Stanhope, Philip, 1st Earl of Chesterfield
Staveley, William
Vernon, George
Walsingham, Sir Francis
Watson, Thomas, Bishop of St. Davids
Willes, Samuel
Woodruffe, Benjamin, chaplain to Charles II and the Duke of York

Several official bodies are also represented by more than ten letters each, among them:

England. Lord Steward's Department (Board of the Green Cloth)
England. Privy Council
Leicester. Mayor and Aldermen
Leicestershire. Deputy Lieutenants
Rutland. Deputy Lieutenants

Important or interesting items (originals unless otherwise indicated):

Hastings, Sir William. Letter Book: copies of letters written to Louis XI of France and others on diplomatic matters. Calais. (Damaged.) 7 leaves 1477, Apr.–Sept.

Henry VIII. Letter to 1st Earl, ordering him to attend the King in his invasion of France 1544, Jan()June

Pole, Reginald, Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury. Ten letters to his niece Catherine Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, dealing chiefly with her affairs and those of her children 1555–57

Mary I. Letter to Sir Edward Hastings, later Lord Hastings of Loughborough, ordering more troops for the defense of Calais 1557/8, Jan. 2

Cheyne, Sir Thomas. Letter to Sir Edward Hastings, later Lord Hastings of Loughborough, concerning matters between the writer and Cardinal Pole 1558, June 1

Queen Elizabeth. Ten letters:
Three to 3d Earl, relating to his custody of Mary, Queen of Scots 1569
Three others to him dealing with his services as Lord President of the North 1570, 1594
Four to 4th Earl, ordering more soldiers to fight against Spain and in Ireland 1600–1602

Cecil, William, Baron Burghley. Two letters to 3d Earl, describing the attitude of the Council toward the Earl's custody of Mary, Queen of Scots, and his own feeling about her 1569, Oct. 28, Dec. 6

Privy Council letter to 3d Earl and the Earl of Shrewsbury, giving instructions for the more secret keeping of Mary, Queen of Scots 1569

Walsingham, Sir Francis. Series of eighteen letters to 3d Earl, and eleven letters from him, regarding the Anglo-Scotch situation 1580–81

Privy Council letter to 3d Earl, instructing him to investigate an appended list of associates and activities of Edmund Campion 1581, Aug. 7

Cartwright, Thomas. Letter to Francis (later Sir Francis) Hastings, criticizing a Christian treatise written by Hastings and sent to Cartwright for comment 1587, May 19

Hastings, Sir Francis. Copy of a letter to his brother Edward Hastings, criticizing the Martin Marprelate tracts 1589/90, Jan. 31

Howard, Henry, 1st Earl of Northampton(?). Letter to Queen Elizabeth, bemoaning his exile from her, and containing much flattery and advice as to her policies *ca.* 1590

Poulet, Anthony, captain of Jersey. Letter to Sir Francis Hastings, describing affairs in the Channel Islands, and asking for more soldiers for protection against the threatening Spaniards 1593, Apr. 23

Hastings, Edward. Autograph draft of a letter to Queen Elizabeth, describing the Island Voyage of Sir Walter Raleigh and the Earl of Essex 1597

Egerton, Alice Stanley, Viscountess Brackley. Twelve letters to 4th Earl and 5th Earl (her son-in-law), concerning family and political matters 1600–1635

Harington, John, 1st Baron Harington. Two letters to 5th Earl, relating to the Gunpowder Plot 1605, Nov. 7, 9

James I. Eleven letters to 5th Earl, dealing with the raising of troops and administering of affairs in Leicestershire 1609–24

Great Britain, Council of Virginia. Letter to Sir Thomas Beaumont, describing the Virginia plantation and asking for subscribers 1610/11, Mar. 10

Macham, Samuel. Letter to 5th Earl, giving news of the success of the Virginia plantation, also of the imprisonment of the Earl of Northumberland 1611, July 18

Roe, Sir Thomas. Letter written from the camp of the Great Mogul, Emperor of India, on gold-flecked oriental paper, to Elizabeth (Stanley) Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, describing the court of the Emperor, and thanking the Countess for her kindness to him 1616, Oct. 30

Parker, Charles. Contemporary copy of his letter to Atley, giving details of Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to Guiana 1617/18, Mar. 22

Sandys, Sir Edwin. Letter to 5th Earl, concerning his estates in the Virginia plantation 1619/20, Jan. 4

Achatius, Burggraf zu Dohna. Four letters to 5th Earl, as Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire and Rutland, asking for money and men to aid the King of Bohemia 1620, May–Nov.

Williams, John, Archbishop of York. Copy of his letter to Charles I, complaining of not having received a writ of summons to Parliament 1625/6, Feb. 6

Five letters (two of them copies) concerning Leicestershire affairs, such as the removal of a library from the chancel of the church to a regular library room in the town; the bands of beggars and gypsies; and complaints against a parson 1622–35

Wriothesley, Henry, 3d Earl of Southampton. Two social letters, one to 5th Earl; the other written by Southampton for Ann Uvedale, with an added note by him 1625

Douglas, Lady Eleanor. Twelve letters to her daughter Lucy Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, dealing with personal and family troubles, in characteristic religious and prophetic style 1625–46

Charles I. Twenty-seven letters (eleven of them copies) to 5th Earl, and other county officers, concerning musters, the collection of money, the trained bands, etc. 1625–43

Six letters to Henry Hastings, Baron Loughborough, and other Royalists, on matters connected with the Civil War 1642–43

A letter to the Commission of the Treasury and the Commissioners of the Exchequer, regarding bishops' rents in Scotland. Signed by both Charles and the Duke of Argyll 1642, Dec. 29

Contemporary copy of a letter of instructions to Archbishop of Canterbury, giving rules for the uniformity of religion 1629, Dec.

Martiau, Nicholas. Two letters to 5th Earl, concerning his estate in Virginia *ca.* 1626

Roby, ———. Letter to 5th Earl, describing a masque at court, and giving other news *ca.* 1627

Suckling, Sir John. Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby about a quarrel between them 1634

Cary, Alice, Viscountess Falkland. Letter to Lady Hastings describing the death of Strafford 1641, May 11⟨

Letters from the following persons to Henry Hastings, Lord Loughborough, on matters relating to the royal cause in the Civil War — movements of troops and ammunition, exchange of prisoners, relief of endangered positions, raising of money, etc.:

- Nicholas, Sir Edward. 28 letters 1642–45
- Compton, Spencer, 2d Earl of Northampton. 2 letters 1642, July, Aug.
- Skeffington, Sir John, 2d Bart. 1642, Aug. 15
- Cary, Lucius, 2d Viscount Falkland 1642/3
- Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria. 3 letters 1643, 1644
- Capel, Arthur, 1st Baron Capel 1643, May 3
- Henrietta Maria, Queen of Great Britain 1643, June 1
- Hacker, Francis, and others 1643, Sept. 28
- Widdrington, Sir William (later Baron Widdrington). 2 letters 1643, 1644
- Cavendish, William, 1st Marquis (later Duke) of Newcastle. 4 letters 1643, 1644
- Goring, George, Baron Goring 1644, Apr. 26
- Montague, Edward, 2d Earl of Manchester 1644, Sept. 30
- Grey, Thomas, 1st Lord Grey of Groby 1644, Nov. 25
- Astley, Jacob, 1st Baron Astley 1645/6, Jan. 17

Moulin, Pierre du. Two letters to Lucy Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, on literary matters 1654, Sept. 23, and *ca.* 1672

Glanvill, Joseph. Letter to George Rust, discussing the future life 1661/2, Jan. 20

Makin, Bathsua. Three letters to the Countess of Huntingdon, asking for money, and condoling with her on the death of her daughter, Elizabeth Langham 1664, May 2, and 1668, Mar. 16, Oct. 24

Charles II. Seven letters, including:

- Two to 7th Earl, about the Gentlemen Pensioners 1667
- One to Henry Hastings, Baron Loughborough, concerning money for a new regiment of horse 1666, July 2
- One to the States General of the United Provinces, regarding peace with Holland. Copy 1666/7

L'Estrange, Sir Roger. Letter to Lucy Hastings, Dowager Countess of Huntingdon, in answer to one from her (dated Oct., 1673) — both dealing with the treatment, in a forthcoming edition of Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle*, of the first siege of Latham, and the part played in it by Lady Eleanor Douglas,

mother of the Countess, and by the Earl and Countess of Derby, mother and father of the Marchioness of Dorchester 1674, Apr. 1

Pierrepont, Katherine, Marchioness of Dorchester, letter to Lady Huntingdon, on the same subject *ca.* 1673, May 26

Dugdale, Sir William. Six letters to 7th Earl, regarding his own and other books, the duties of officers at the coronation, etc. 1674–85

Pepys, Samuel. Letter to 7th Earl, expressing his regret that he cannot place a man in the fleet 1685, Aug. 11

Hayward, John. Letter describing his affairs in Massachusetts, and stating that he is sending a Bible in the Indian language 1685/6, Jan. 15

Johnston, Nathaniel. Series of sixty letters to 7th Earl, conveying all sorts of public and private news 1690–99

Watson, Thomas, Bishop of St. Davids. A similar series, of seventy letters, giving family, personal, and public news 1690–99

Kneller, Sir Godfrey, 1st Bart. Letter to 7th Earl, requesting payment for a portrait of Lady Betty Hastings 1693, Dec. 14

B. 1700–1892

Period covered:

The correspondence after 1700, comprising about 9,500 pieces, may be grouped by decades as follows:

	Years	*Number of pieces*
18th cent.:	1700–1708	69
	1710–18	45
	1720–29	99
	1730–39	560
	1740–49	377
	1750–59	352
	1760–69	245
	1770–79	312
	1780–89	108
	1790–99	104
19th cent.:	1800–1809	979
	1810–19	1,042
	1820–29	1,041
	1830–39	351
	1840–48	57
	1850–59	99
	1860–69	111

1870–79	742
1880–89	2,071
1890–92	658

The business correspondence is concentrated in the periods 1804–25 and 1865–90.

Subject matter:

Many of the letters addressed to the Hastings family during this period contain intimate information on the private lives of members of English society, including the royal family. There is a fair amount of material on the American Revolution, the Peninsular War, and the Napoleonic War, with accounts of some of the battles and of the movements of the armies.

The business letters are mostly to and from the agents and solicitors of the family, concerning estates.

Persons represented (by ten or more pieces each):

Alexander, H. (10)
Alexander & Company (firm) (21)
Allan, Robert, & Son (firm) (14)
Anderson, J. & F. (firm) (85)
Armstrong, Thomas (14)
Atkinson, Joseph & John (firm) (47)
Barnetts Hoare Co. (firm) (12)
Bayly, Thomas E. (68)
Blake, John (87)
Brisbourne, Isaac (14)
Chaplin, Robert (10)
Cobbe, Lady Elizabeth (11)
Cradock, John & Thomas (firm) (11)
Cradock & Son (firm) (12)
Dalby, Thomas (22)
Dawson, Edward (103)
Dickinson, Robert (25)
Donovan, Jeremiah (22)
Ellis, Edward (10)
Evans, John (173)
Faulkner, E. (181)
Fisher, James Hurtle (31)
Geddes, George H. (24)
German, G. (20)
German, William (501)
Gibson, James (13)

Gillett, F. C. (12)
Glasse, George Henry (17)
Greenwood, Cox & Co. (firm) (10)
Handley & Durrant (firm) (132)
Hastings, Charles Frederick Clifton Abney-, 1st Baron Donington (29)
Hastings, Edith Maud Abney-, *suo jure* Countess of Loudoun (20)
Hastings, Lady Elizabeth (42)
Hastings, Flora Rawdon-, Marchioness of Hastings, *suo jure* Countess of Loudoun (71)
Hastings, Lady Flora Rawdon (27)
Hastings, Lady Frances (15)
Hastings, Francis, 10th Earl (79)
Hastings, Francis Rawdon-, 1st Marquess of Hastings and 2d Earl of Moira (57)
Hastings, George Augustus Francis Rawdon-, 2d Marquess of Hastings and 7th Earl of Loudoun (20)
Hastings, J. (10)
Hastings, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon (18)
Hastings, Theophilus, 9th Earl (12)
Hemington, Robert (109)
Hendrie, Robert (357)
Hill, Joseph (15)
Iveson, John (20)
Johnson, Richard (10)
Jones, James (27)
Lindsey, Theophilus (20)
MacCulloh, Elizabeth (41)
MacDonall, W. (10)
Mackie, Robert (226)
McMahon, Sir John, 1st Baronet (15)
Mammatt, Edward (270)
Mammatt, Edward F. (29)
Mann, Sir Horace (10)
Marshall, John (10)
Martin, William (17)
Miles, Samuel (10)
Molloy, James Scott (10)
Monsley, W. Eaton (10)
Needham, Mary, Viscountess of Kilmorey (11)
Ogilvie, William (20)

Peat, Thomas Henry (239)
Percy, Hugh, 2d Duke of Northumberland (13)
Pitman, Frederick (35)
Rawdon, Elizabeth, Countess of Moira (32)
Ridge, John (10)
Rodgers, John (13)
Russell, Lord Wriothesley (15)
Scargill, John (12)
Sharpe, John (10)
Smallman, R. (139)
Smith, Mammatt & Hale (firm) (189)
Smith, William Edward (765)
Smith & Mammatt (firm) (592)
Stanhope, Philip, 5th Earl of Chesterfield (19)
Stanley, Hans (35)
Stuart, Sophia Frederica Christina, Marchioness of Bute (12)
Tylee, Edward (16)
Wade, George (15)
Wentworth, Anne, Countess of Strafford (17)
Wheler, Lady Catherine Maria (11)
Wheler, Granville (32)
William IV (30)
William Frederick, 2d Duke of Gloucester (19)
Woodhouse, John Thomas (123)
Woodhouse, Jonathan (65)

Important or interesting items:

d'Angoulême, Louis Antoine, *duc*, to the Earl of Moira, with comments on the strength of the French Army. (1795–1804.) 6 letters

Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex: (*a*) to the Earl of Moira, asking for his opinion on personal problems and using him as confidential friend in his relations with his brother, the Prince of Wales; (*b*) to the Prince of Wales, asking him to intercede on his behalf with his father, George III, to be allowed to go to a warm climate on account of his delicate health. (1806–19.) 14 letters

Cheyne, George, physician, to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, giving medical advice and prescriptions, and propounding his ideas in support of vegetarianism. (1730–40.) 31 letters

Cocchi, Antonio, Italian doctor and philosopher, to 9th and 10th Earls. (1737–56.) 7 letters

Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, to the Earl of Moira, dealing with politics, and giving intimate glimpses of the interrelations of the royal family. (1789–1826.) 22 letters

Hamilton, Sir William, to 10th Earl, dealing with political and social matters, both in London and Naples. (1754–79.) 8 letters

Hastings, Flora, Marchioness of Hastings, *suo jure* Countess of Loudoun, to her son, then Lord Rawdon, during the governorship of the Marquess of Hastings in India (1816–22). 33 letters

Hastings, Francis Rawdon-, 1st Marquess of Hastings and 2d Earl of Moira. His correspondence covers his years of service in the American Revolution (1775–80) and his term as governor-general of Bengal (1813–22). (1765–1826.) 150 letters

Hastings, George Rawdon-, 2d Marquess of Hastings and 7th Earl of Loudoun, concerning the slander about his sister, Lady Flora Hastings, lady in waiting to the Duchess of Kent. (1839–40.) 10 letters

Hastings, Henry, to 9th Earl, giving an account of the Battle of Fontenoy. (May 11, 1745)

Hastings, Warren, to Sir Charles Hastings, discussing politics, with references to Napoleon and the Peninsular War. (1802–17.) 79 letters

Helvetius, Claude Adrian, to 10th Earl, introducing Mozart, then 7 years old, when he visited England in 1764

Louis Philippe, to the Earl of Moira, discussing the affairs of the Continent and his own position in relation to Napoleon. (1801–7.) 12 letters

Moore, Thomas (the poet), to the Earl of Moira, requesting help for his father. (*ca.* 1802)

Murray, David, Earl of Mansfield (then Viscount Stormont), to 10th Earl. Data on European politics, the American Revolution, etc. (1748–82.) 51 letters

Murray, John Fisher (Irish poet and humorist), to the Marquess of Hastings, concerning the publication of his pamphlet attacking Sir James Clark, court physician, who was, to a great degree, responsible for the slander of Lady Flora Hastings. (1839–40.) 5 letters

Nelson, Horatio, Viscount Nelson, to the Earl of Moira, expressing his hope of meeting the French fleet at sea. (Mar. 30, 1805)

Palmer, Charles F., to 10th Earl, referring to Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. (1762)

Picton, Sir Thomas, to Sir Charles Hastings, concerning the privations of the English army in Spain, the siege of St. Sebastian, etc. (1811–13.) 3 letters

Sturt, Charles, to Sir Charles Hastings. Three letters giving detailed accounts of Napoleon's visit to Havre in Nov., 1802. The writer, an Englishman then a prisoner of the French, gives a full description of Napoleon's personal appearance and his opinion of the Emperor's character.

Voltaire to 10th Earl, accepting a dinner invitation. (1771.) 2 letters

III. Papers Relating to the Conveyance of Land

Period covered: 1100–1800

There are about 4,000 documents under this classification. A rough estimate places about one per cent in the 12th century, 12 per cent in the 13th, 25 per cent in the 14th, and the remaining 62 per cent in the succeeding centuries.

Subject matter:

The documents in this group are all instruments pertaining to the transfer or lease of land, and include confirmations, final concords, and powers of attorney for delivering and receiving seisin. Other documents commonly associated with these under the category "Ancient Deeds" (such as court rolls and other court papers, rentals, appointments of stewards and bailiffs, and powers of attorney for receiving rents) have been arranged topographically in a separate file and are described in Section IV, Manorial Papers.

Places represented:

Roughly, half of the deeds relate to Leicestershire, where the Hastings family had their principal estates after the fifteenth century; the remainder are scattered throughout many other counties, as the following list will indicate. Places in these counties represented by only two or three deeds have not been mentioned. The counties of Lincoln, Huntingdon, Worcester, Gloucester, Surrey, Sussex, Dorset, Cornwall, Monmouth, and Hereford have but a few deeds each, and have therefore not been included. The dates given in the list are the earliest that can at present be ascribed; the figures in parentheses give the total number of deeds for places represented, in the Historical Manuscripts Commission *Report*, by more than ten.

Leicestershire

Appleby Magna	temp. John
Ashby de la Zouch (86)	1300
Ayleston (19)	*ca.* 1200
Baggrave (in Hungerton)	1275
Barrow-upon-Soar (65)	*ca.* 1274
Braunstone (14)	temp. Henry III
Breedon	1351
Donington	1293
Framland Hundred	1318
Kirby Bellars (11)	*ca.* 1267
Kirby Muxloe (80)	1252

Kirkby Mallory (15)	temp. Henry III
Knighton	1322
Leicester (36)	*ca.* 1139
Leicester Forest	1242
Long Whatton (19)	*ca.* 1225
Loughborough (42)	temp. Henry III
Orton Saucey	1330
Osgathorpe (12)	temp. Henry III
Packington	1336
Quorndon (19)	*ca.* 1209
Ravenstone	1285
Rotherby	1316
Shakerstone (13)	*ca.* 1220
Sheepshed (27)	*ca.* 1190
Shoby	1282
Sileby	1325
Thornton	1295
Thringstone (50)	1262
Tonge	temp. Henry III
Tubenham	1386
Tugby	*ca.* 1200
Derbyshire	
Melbourne	1401
Oakthorpe	1298
Nottinghamshire	
East Leake, West Leake, Sutton, and Bonnington-upon-Soar; Staunton Harold and Packington, Leicestershire; Smisby, Derbyshire (relating to the priories of Calke and Repton) (39)	*ca.* 1163–1330
Eastwood	1527
Sutton (in Sutton Bonnington)	temp. Henry III
Sutton Bonnington (25)	temp. Henry III
Northamptonshire	
East Farndon	1411
Sibbertoft	1382
Welford (21)	1225

Warwickshire	
Dosthill	1318
Staffordshire	
Marchington	1357
Yorkshire	
Aldbrough	temp. Henry III
Drypool	*ca.* 1200
Hedon	1275
Holderness	*ca.* 1200
Huddleston (in Sherburn)	1283
Owthorne	temp. Henry III
Rawdon (in Guiseley) (36)	temp. Edward I
Sigglesthorne	*ca.* 1101
Sutton (in Holderness)	1331
Thornton Dale	1275
Willerby	temp. Richard I
Wold Newton	1379
Northumberland	
Benridge	1307
Kirkharle	temp. Henry III
Slaley	1328
Styford (in Bywell)	1319
Norfolk	
Gissing	*ca.* 1200
Cambridgeshire	
Fen Ditton (16)	1269
Teversham	temp. Henry III
Middlesex	
Finchley	temp. Henry III
London (14)	1331
Kent	
Nethewode (in Lessness)	1329
Hampshire	
Romsey	1315

Wiltshire	
Ansty	1281
Clevancy (in Hillmarton)	1251
Great Cheverell	1356
Heytesbury (17)	1282
Teffont Evias (13)	temp. Henry III
Upton Scudamore (24)	1283
Warminster	temp. Henry III
Winsley (in Bradford)	1331
Somerset	
Frome (11)	1314
Henstridge	1315
Queen Camel	1357
Sutton Montis	1313
Devon	
Clyst Gerald (in Broad Clyst)	1277
Sutton Lucy	1403
Berkshire	
Hungerford (16)	1273
Buckinghamshire	
Brill	temp. Henry III
Cippenham	1339
Ludgershall	1313
Oxfordshire	
Henley on Thames	1332
France	
Calais	1350

Persons represented:

Members of the Hastings family are concerned most frequently in these documents. Families connected by marriage with the Hastings', such as the Hungerfords, Suttons, Herles, and Shirleys, are also represented.

Other families whose deeds have come into this collection, either through marriage or by the later acquisition of their lands, are as follows:

Escudamor:	About 25 deeds relating to Upton Scudamore and Norton Scudamore, Wiltshire, between 1287 and 1400

Erdington:	About 40 deeds relating to Barrow-upon-Soar and Quorndon, Leicestershire, between *ca.* 1209 and *ca.* 1450
Meaux:	About 50 deeds relating to numerous places in Yorkshire, between *ca.* 1101 and 1370
Levere and Pakeman:	About 50 deeds relating to Kirby Muxloe, Leicestershire, between temp. Henry III and 1450
Rawdon:	About 35 deeds relating to Rawdon in Guiseley, Yorkshire, from temp. Edward I to 1588

Signatures of the following persons occur:

(For the sake of convenience, all early signatures in the entire Hastings collection are mentioned here, in order of date.)

Royal

Edward IV (1469)
Richard III (1483)
Henry VII (1505)
Henry VIII (1543)
Edward VI (1550)
Mary (1556)
Elizabeth (1559)
James I (1609)

Miscellaneous

John Stourton (*ca.* 1420)
Richard, Duke of York (1448)
William Pole, Duke of Suffolk (1448)
Robert, Lord Hungerford (1453)
John, Lord Lovell (1460)
Roger, Lord de Camoys (1465)
Henry, Lord Grey (1468)
Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick (1468)
Margaret, Baroness Hungerford and Botreaux (1468)
William, Lord Hastings (1470)
Thomas Hoo (1475)
Margaret, Lady Hungerford and Botreaux (1476)
Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Sarum (1476)
George de Neville, Lord Bergavenny (1477)
John, Lord Dinham (1480)
Francis, Lord Lovell (1482)

Katherine, Lady Hastings (1489)
Peter Curteis (1489)
Edward, Lord Hastings and Hungerford (1490)
Sir George Hastings (1493)
Sir Thomas Frowyk (1504)
Thomas Jakes (1504)
Sir Thomas Lovell (1505)
Sir Henry Wyatt (1505)
Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby (1505)
Edmund Dudley (1509)
John Spencer (1509)
George Hastings, 1st Earl (1513)
Sir Hugh Vaughan (1515)
John Rawdon (1517)
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury (1519)
Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (1519)
Sir Anthony Fitzherbert (1520)
Sir Thomas More (1527)
Thomas Wolsey (1527)
Henry, Lord Montagu (1531)
Robert Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex (1531)
Andrew, Lord Windsor (1531)
Sir John Baldwin (1535)
Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (1535)
Sir William Cavendish (1546)
Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk (1548)
Sir John Port (1550)
George Owen (1557)

Seals

There are several thousand seals, a few of which have been listed here under the four headings: Royal, Ecclesiastical, Personal, and Corporation, etc. These are only representative, there being many personal seals that could not be mentioned here.

Royal

John (1203) (fragment)
Henry III (1266) (fragment)
Edward I (1306)
Edward II (1318)
Edward III (1346)

Richard II (1382)
Henry V (1422)
Henry VI (1444)
Edward IV (1475)
Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV (1466)
Henry VII (1496)
Henry VIII (1540)
Edward VI (1551)
Mary (1554)
Philip and Mary (1558)
Elizabeth (1588)
James I (1604)
Charles I (1625)
Charles II (1662)
James II (1686)

Ecclesiastical

Prior of Calke (Derbyshire) (*ca.* 1180)
Geoffrey, Archbishop of York (*ca.* 1191)
Abbot of Meaux (Yorkshire) (*ca.* 1200)
Abbot of Darley (*ca.* 1200)
Prior of Lenton (*ca.* 1200)
Abbot of Sulby (1229)
Abbot of St. Mary, York (*ca.* 1250)
Hospital of St. John, Leicester (*ca.* 1250)
Abbot of Mereval (1302)
William de Pickering, Archdeacon of Nottingham (1307)
Abbot and Convent of Waverley (Surrey) (1344)
Priory of Haltemprice (reverse of the common seal) (1361)
Priory of St. Andrews, York (1371)
Abbot of Byland (1397)
Abbey of Garendon (common seal) (1439)
Priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield (London) (common seal) (1463)
Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester (1468)
Bishop of Exeter (1469)
Priory of St. Mary, Tutbury (1475)
Chapter of Salisbury (*ad Petitiones ad Causas*) (1476)
Priory of North Ormsby (common seal) (1477)
Abbey of Welbeck (1477)
Chapter of Coventry Cathedral (with counter seal of prior) (1481)

Lichfield, dean and chapter (*ad Causas*) (1481)
Priory of Grace Dieu (common seal) (1493)
Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Bath (second seal) (1497)
Priory of Launde (Leicester) (1512)
Burton-on-Trent (common seal) (1522)
College of St. Mary, Leicester (common seal) (1530)
Abbey of St. John the Evangelist, Croxton (common seal) (1534)
Abbey of Cerne (1538)
Hospital of the Savoy (1572)
Bishop of Clogher (1636)

Personal

Harold de Leke (*ca.* 1163)
Hubert de Neutun (1190)
Reginald, Count of Boulogne, and Ida his wife (*ca.* 1200)
Petronella, Countess of Leicester (*ca.* 1200)
Henry de Hastings (*ca.* 1200)
John de Hastings (*ca.* 1200)
Walter de Neusum (*ca.* 1200)
Randulph, Earl of Chester (*ca.* 1209)
Baldwin, Count of Guines (1233)
Lady Isabel of Meus (1270)
Silvester de Cantia (1270)
Thomas, Earl of Warwick (1351)
John of Gaunt (1362)
Charles, Duke of Burgundy (1461)
Robert Sheringham (1461)

Corporation, etc.

Knights Templars (*ca.* 1160)
Mayoralty of Bristol (1399)
Mayoralty of Calais (1444)
Statute Staple of Westminster (1460)
Mayoralty of Leicester (1461)
Derby (1475)
Mayor of Salisbury (1476)
Berwick-upon-Tweed, royal seal for the chamberlain within the town (1574)
Pontefract, common seal of the corporation (1584)
Borough of Leicester (1620)
Drogheda (1635)
Borough of Stafford (common seal) (1683)

Important or interesting items:

1101–8 Charter of Thurstan, provost of the Collegiate Church of St. John Beverley, restoring and confirming to John de Melsa land in Sigglesthorne and Walkington (Yorkshire)

1139–47 Grant by Randulph, Earl of Chester, to Robert, Earl of Leicester, of Charley, and all woods adjoining the grantee's Forest of Leicester (except Barrow Park), together with his estate in the city of Leicester

ca. 1154–80 A grant and confirmation by Richard de Hastinge, Master of the Knights Templars in England, to Anselm de Stantune and his heirs, of land in Ashby de la Launde (Lincolnshire), the grantee paying to the Temple the yearly rent of 2*s.*

A small circular seal, Knights Templars, in green wax, one inch in diameter, apparently the "*Agnus Dei*," with inscription "*Sigillum Templi*"

temp. Henry II or Richard I? Quitclaim and confirmation by Ughtred son of Dolphin and Herbert, his son and heir, to the church of St. Mary of Fountains (Yorkshire)

temp. Richard I or John Confirmation by Henry de Hastig' to Hugh de Hastig', of land in "Gessig'" (Norfolk), including the land of Alan de Middiltone, which John de Hastig', father of Henry, gave to Thomas de Hastig', father of Hugh; to hold for the service of one knight

1244 The foundation charter of the Priory of Chetwode, being a grant by Ralph de Norwico to God and the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas, and brothers Thomas and Geoffrey de Hanewrthe, canons of the order of St. Augustine, of all his lands and worldly possessions in Chetwode, Barton (Hartshorn), and Godington (Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire), for the erection at Chetwode of a conventual church of that order

Small oval seal, defaced, suspended by yellow (originally pink) cords — an intaglio gem (a man's head). "Sigil' Radulfi de Norwic"

1283–1329 Roll of five deeds, etc., relating to the manor of Cippenham, Buckinghamshire

1287 Roll of six deeds, etc., relating to the lands of John and Robert Burstall in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire

1288 and undated	Roll of nine deeds, etc., relating to the lands of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and Edmund, 2d Earl of Cornwall, in Berkshire, and Hertfordshire, etc.
1324/5, Mar. 2	Letters patent of Edward II confirming certain grants by Harold de Leke and Robert de Notingham to the priories of Calke and Repton Portion of the great seal, in brown paste and wax
1333–40	Roll of eighteen deeds relating to the conveyance of lands in Foulmire (Cambridgeshire) and Datchet (Buckinghamshire), from William de Montague to John de Molyns. (All in French, on paper)
temp. Edward III	Assignment of dower by Lord William de Herle to Lady Margaret de Westone of certain lands in the diocese of Durham
1362	Roll of five deeds relating to the possessions in Willerby (Yorkshire) of the Priory of Haltemprice. (Contemporary copy, on paper)
1376/7, Mar. 6	Edward III. Royal license to Walter de Pau, John Fisshere, chaplain, and Richard Byhull, to alienate lands in Dorset to the Prior and Convent of Christchurch
1460, Oct. 16	Roll of six deeds, powers of attorney, and confirmations to Sir Thomas Hungerford and Anne his wife, of lands in Devon, Somerset, and Wiltshire
1483, Sept. 16	Richard III. Award, signed by him with his royal sign manual "R.R.," for partition of the lands of Sir William Plumpton in Yorkshire and in Chaddesden, etc. (Derbyshire)
1505, June 17	Henry VII. Grant to Edward, Lord Hastings, of the manor of Edmonton (Middlesex), by Sir Charles Somerset, Sir Thomas Lovell, Edmund Dudley, and Henry Wyatt. Signed by the King, also by Sir Thomas Lovell, Edmund Dudley, and Henry Wyatt
1527, June 29	Henry VIII. Confirmation to Thomas, Marquess Dorset, and Lady Margaret his wife, of the manors of Loughborough and Shepeshead (Leicestershire) Signed by Henry VIII, Sir Thomas More, and Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal
1556, July 14	Conveyance of the manor of Stokenham (Devon), by 2d Earl and the Countess Catherine his wife, to Queen Mary, for debt

With great seal; signed at head by Mary, Queen of England

1557, Aug. 31 Indenture of the sale of £54, parcel of the £95 3*s.* 5*d.* yearly rent, out of the manor of Congresbury (Somerset), made by 2d Earl to George Owen, physician, for £1,000
Signed by George Owen

ca. 1605–18 A series of documents relating to grants of concealed lands in Ireland, probably from the official papers of Sir John Davies

IV. Manorial Papers

Period covered:

13th to 19th centuries, with most of the manuscripts concentrated in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. About 2,500 pieces

Subject matter:

The manorial papers comprise court rolls, rentals, assessments of property, acreages of estates, improvements made or contemplated, lists of tenants, petitions, bonds for payment of rents, agreements respecting tithes, fishing, and hunting, etc.

Places represented:

The following are the counties represented in these papers, and under them are listed the manors or names of other, miscellaneous property therein; inclusive dates are given, and the number of pieces is inclosed in parentheses:

1. *England:*
 - Berkshire:
 - Englefield: 1572–1627 (9)
 - Buckinghamshire:
 - Brill: 1432 (1)
 - Cippenham: 15th cent. (9)
 - Grove, Linsdale, and Hapton: 1831 (9)
 - Stoke Poges Hospital: 15th–18th cents. (1 box)
 - Cheshire: 1694 (9)
 - Cornwall: 16th–17th cents. (4)
 1425–1553 (1 box of rolls)
 - Cumberland:
 - Inglewood Forest: 1372 (2)
 - Inglewood Forest: 15th cent. (roll)

Derbyshire:
- Chester: 1468 (1)
- Cubley, etc., 1482–86 (1)
- Kennelmarsh: 1675 (1)
- King's Newton: 1778 (1)
- Measham: 1628 (1)
- Melbourne: 1401–1800 (3 boxes of papers and rolls)
- Normanton: 18th cent. (2)
- Oakthorpe: 1395–1755 (10)
- Osleston: 1556/7 (1)
- Repton: 1550/1
- Sinfin: 1370–94 (2)
- Sinfin Moor: 1802 (1)
- Smisby: 1784 (1)
- Winster: 1762 (1)
- Woodthorp: 1814 (1)

Devon: General rolls, 1442–1577 (2)
- Diptford and Carswell: 1281 (1)
- Stokingham: 1555–1625 (9)

Dorset:
- Hilton, Newton Montague, etc.: 1344–1556 (6 rolls)
- Puddletown: 1581–1613 (3)

Hampshire: 1380–1550 (5); 1474, 1509 (2 rolls)

Hertfordshire:
- Lancaster: 1807 (1)
- Pirton: 1651 (1)

Huntingdonshire: 18th cent. (1)

Leicestershire: Miscellaneous rolls (2 boxes)
- Alton Grange: 1675 (1)
- Ashby de la Zouch: 16th–18th cents. (5 boxes of rolls) 1269–1820 (11 boxes of papers)
- Barrow: 1568–1817 (9)
- Barrow-upon-Soar: 1433–1769 (7)
- Blackfordby: 18th cent. (7)
- Braunstone: 1550 (1)
- Breedon: 17th–18th cents. (2)
- Breedon, Tonge, and Wilson: 1768–1806 (3)
- Burton, Liberty of: 1753 (1)
- Burton Overy: 1745 (1)
- Cold Newton: 1680–81 (2)

Cossington: 18th cent. (1)
Donisthorpe: 1811–13 (2)
Framland, Hundred of: 13th–19th cent. (5 boxes of rolls)
13th cent.–1809 (1 box)
Hathern: 17th cent. (1)
Hoby: 1321 (1 roll)
Holwell and Ab Kettleby: 1753 (1)
Hoton: 1760 (1)
Hugglescote: 1731 (1)
King's Norton: 1349 (1)
Kirkby Mallory: 1300–1320 (2)
Lancaster: 15th cent. (1)
Leicester: 1489–1609 (2)
Leicester Castle: 1594–97 (1)
Long Clawson: 1642 (1)
Loughborough: 15th–18th cents. (8 boxes of rolls)
1465–*ca.* 1820 (misc. papers, 20 boxes)
Lubbesthorpe: 1603–4 (4)
Markfield: 1768–95 (2)
Newbold Verdon: 1599 (1)
Newton Harcourt: 1437 (2)
Newton Linford: *ca.* 1713 (1)
Orton: 15th and early 16th cents. (1)
Osgathorpe: 18th cent. (1)
Packington: 16th cent.–1791 (2 boxes of rolls and 4 of misc. papers)
Quorndon: 1270–18th cent. (17)
Ratby: 17th cent. (1)
Ravenstone: 1651 (1)
Rotherby: 1746 (1)
Sileby: 1599 (1)
Stanton-under-Bardon: 1628–39 (2)
Stoney Stanton: 17th cent.–1777 (4)
Swithland: 1650–53 (1)
Thringstone: 18th cent. (1)
Whitwick: 1708/9–1744 (2)
Wigston: 1518 (1)
Wistow: 1368 (1)
Lincolnshire: 15th and 16th cents. (2 boxes of rolls)
Norfolk: 1722–26 (4)

Northamptonshire: General, 1475–91 (3)
Astwell: 1721 (1)
Bulwick: 1586 (1 roll)
Naseby: 1473 (1)
Nottinghamshire: General (2)
East Leake: 1729–86 (3)
Great Leake: 1668–71 (3)
Ratcliffe: 1477 (1)
Rutland:
Belton: 1563 (1)
Lee Lodge: 1567 (1)
Shropshire:
Market Drayton: 1792 (1)
Somerset: General, 14th–16th cents. (1 box of rolls)
Aller and Allermoor: 1534–19th cent. (2 boxes)
Crewkerne: 1544 (1)
Hinton: 1327 (1)
Somerton: 1572 (1)
Staffordshire:
Chartley: 1647 (roll)
Dilhorne: 1581–1841 (5)
Tutbury: 1476/7 (4)
Sussex: General, 1548–1672 (3)
East Marden: 1446 (1 roll)
Hastings, Rape of: 1461/2 (1)
Sedlescombe: 1430–75 (5 rolls)
Warwickshire: General, 1489 (1 roll)
1482–1564 (3 misc. papers)
Arrow: 17th cent. (1)
Ettington (or Edington): 1711–18 (2)
Lodington: 1710 (1)
Woodcote: 1408 (1)
Yorkshire: General, 1644–1740 (6)
Carr: 1626 (1)
Collingham: 1692–1737 (3)
Eske: 1604 (1)
Haltemprice Priory: 1376 (1)
Holderness: 1200–1370 (2)
Knaresborough: 1548–67 (3)
Leake: 1526 (1)

Ledstone and Ledsham: 1710–1800 (2 boxes)
Malton and Norton: 1372–73 (2)
Rawdon: 1296, 1831 (2)
Storthwaite: 1364 (1)
Wike: 1619 (1)

2. *Ireland:*

General: Several counties, 17th–19th cents. (1 box)
Antrim:
Magheragall, etc: 1657 (1)
Masserrine: 1657 (1)
Antrim and Down: 1655 (1)
Armagh: 17th cent. (4)
Cavan: 1660 (1)
Cork:
Baltimore: 1611/2 (1)
Donegal:
Lifford: 1608 (1)
Donegal and Tyrone: 1617 (1)
Down: General, 1639–1745 (4)
Ardglass: 1606/7 (1)
Ballyhenihem: 1695 (1)
Ballykine: 1687/8 (1)
Ballymoney: 1656 (1)
Clair: 1715 (1)
Edenmore: 1668 (1)
Killmaniog: 1710 (1)
Moira: 17th–19th cents. (11)
Rathfryland: 1717 (1)
Rathmuline: 1695 (1)
Dublin:
Dublin: 1641–1758 (7)
Lispoppell: 1595–1700 (32)
Oxmantown: 17th cent. (2)
Fermanagh: General, 1603–18th cent. (4)
Lisgold: 1635–1700 (5)
Magheryneganagh: 17th cent. (1)
Shankill: 17th cent. (1)
Tully and others: 1661–66 (1)
Fermanagh and Tyrone: 1633–*ca.* 1700 (8)
Galway: 1666 (1)

Kerry:
Glanflesk: 1641 (1)
Killagha: 1673 (1)
Kilkenny: *ca.* 1615 (1)
Londonderry:
Derry: 1641–64 (2)
Magilligan: 1641 (1)
Louth: General, 18th cent. (1)
Carestown: 1662 (1)
Termonfeckan: 1661 (1)
Louth, Dublin, Meath, etc.: 1653, 1741 (2)
Meath: General, 1600–1772 (6)
Ballibin: 1615/6 (2)
Belgree: 1652–63 (2)
Castletown: 1660 (1) (East Meath)
Cornelstowne: 1666 (1)
Primatstowne: 18th cent. (1)
Meath and Dublin: 1723 (1)
Meath and Louth: 1636 (1)
Monaghan:
Ferny: 1693 (1)
Queen's: 1617 (1)
Tyrone: General, 1609–1700 (12)
Castledirge: 1667 (1)
Cloghnamore: 1628 (1)
Drumglass, etc.: 17th cent. (1)
Dungannon: 1609 (1)
Gorveteagh: 1660 (1)
Omagh: 1619 (1)
Westmeath: 1665 (1)
Wexford: General, 1661–65 (1)
Adamstown, etc.: 1663 (1)
Ballycally: 1665 (1)
Ballygarrett: 1662–65 (2)
Ballytraman: 1660–90 (7)
Garrigibbon: 17th cent. (2)
Wicklow:
Ballynacor: 1680–1790 (4)

3. *Scotland*

Loudoun, Eastern and Western: 1813–15 (9)

Important or interesting items:

ca. 1190–1216 — France, Wissant, Boulogne, etc.
Charter of Reginald, Count of Boulogne, and Ida his wife, granting to the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, freedom from all tolls and other payments demanded

1233 — France, Guines
Charter of Baldwin, Count of Guines, granting to the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, freedom from all tolls and other payments demanded
With his equestrian seal

ca. 1250 — Leicestershire, Rothley
Rental of the manor and soke belonging to the Knights Templars, including "*Consuetudines & servicia*" and "*Composiciones vocabulorum in quibusdam Cartes contentorum*"
A volume of 14 leaves, bound in limp vellum. 14th-cent. copy

1277 — Partition of the knights' fees in the inheritance of Roger de Quency, Earl of Winton; and an inquisition "*de valore legitimo*" relating to the division of the estates of Robert Fitz Parnell, Earl of Leicester (d. 1204)

1322, Mar. 16 — Leicestershire, Hoby
Memorandum to the effect that Walter de Houby, Lord of Hoby, had assigned to Joan, once the wife of Gilbert de Houby, his son and heir, deceased, a third part of the manor for her dower. The premises are set out in great detail upon the roll.

1344–76, Nov. 22–Apr. 25 — Dorsetshire, Newton Montague
Court of Katherine de Montacute, Countess of Salisbury, etc.

1372, Jan. 17 — Yorkshire, Malton and Norton
Indenture whereby the prior and convent of Malton agreed to submit to the arbitration of Monsieur Ralph de Hastynges certain matters touching their mills and ponds of Old Malton and Norton, including the assessment of the amounts to be paid by them as compensation to the abbots of Rivaulx and Byland and others, for the damage done to their lands by the overflow of the waters of the Derwent from the said ponds, together with the devising of means to prevent such damage in the future

ca. 1373 Yorkshire, Malton and Norton
Petition of the prior and convent of Malton to the King concerning their mills of Malton, which their predecessors had held peaceably as parcel of the foundation for more than two hundred years. On the Sunday after the feast of St. Luke, 44 Edward III, Monsieur Ralph de Hastynges, "chivaler," came in force with two hundred armed men and archers, wrecked the mills, and diverted the water from its ancient course through the priory, the petitioners not daring to pass their door for fear of their lives. In this plight the prior was forced by Monsieur Ralph to bind himself in the sum of £400 to submit to his arbitration in the matter of the dispute and damage, by virtue whereof he was required to proceed to York with the common seal of the priory and there compelled by Monsieur Ralph to enter into five other bonds, for £40 each, in favor of different persons. Praying that such bonds be declared void, and that the ancient course of the water be restored. (In French)

1375 Leicestershire, Ashby de la Zouch
Grant by Edward III of a fair at Ashby and Swansey to Alan la Zouche

1432, May 13–Sept. 3 Buckinghamshire, Brill
View of frankpledge, etc., at the court of Thomas Chaucer and other feoffees of the manor

1482–86 Derbyshire — Cubley, Aston, Rodsley; Staffordshire — Gayton Dilhorne, Coverswall, Leigh, etc.
Rental of the lands of Sir Nicholas Montgomery
(Bound in the original oak boards, covered with skin)

V. Papers Relating to Scotland

Provenance:

The presence of the Loudoun manuscripts among the Hastings papers may be explained by the marriage of Flora Mure-Campbell, Countess of Loudoun in her own right, to Francis Rawdon-Hastings, 1st Marquess of Hastings, on July 12, 1804.

The small group of seventeenth-century manuscripts addressed to the Lairds of Rowallan (who bore the name of Sir William Mure) were doubtless added to the

Loudoun papers by Jean, eldest daughter of David Boyle, 1st Earl of Glasgow, by his second wife, Jean, daughter and heiress of Sir William Mure of Rowallan. This Jean Boyle, who succeeded to the estate of Rowallan, married (about 1720) Sir James Campbell of Lawers, father of James Mure Campbell, 5th Earl of Loudoun.

Period covered: 1634–1821

The chronological distribution of these papers, which number about 2,300, may be indicated approximately as follows:

	Years	*Number of Pieces*
17th cent.:	1634–65	16
	1666–99	16
18th cent.:	1703–6	50
	1707–14	38
	1715	287
	1716–30	59
	1731–44	42
	1745	356
	1746	1,159
	1747	140
	1748–49	53
	1750–69	51
	1770–80	66
19th cent.:	1821	1

Subject matter:

1. A small group of miscellaneous letters and documents, addressed to Sir William Mure, Laird of Rowallan
2. Correspondence and documents, mainly addressed to Hugh Campbell, 3d Earl of Loudoun (d. 1731)
 - *a*) The Rebellion of 1715 in Scotland
 - (1) Raising of the militia
 - (2) Movements of the Jacobite and English armies
 - (3) Defense of Glasgow
 - *b*) The lord-lieutenancy of Ayrshire (a post held by 3d Earl)
 - *c*) Personal and business matters
3. Correspondence and documents (such as memorials, orders, returns, lists, and accounts), mainly addressed to John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun (1705–82)
 - *a*) The Rebellion of 1745 in Scotland
 - (1) Landing of the Young Pretender, and his progress with his army through Scotland and England

(2) Recruiting and equipment of Loudoun's Highland Regiment and of the independent Highland companies under his command
(3) Commissioning of officers
(4) The provision of quarters, clothing, arms, and pay for Loudoun's troops
(5) Operations of Loudoun's regiment in the vicinity of Inverness, Scotland; relief of Fort Augustus; retreat to Rosshire, Sutherland, and Skye
(6) Intrigues of Simon Fraser, 11th Baron Lovat
(7) The battles of Prestonpans (Sept. 21, 1745), Falkirk (Jan. 17, 1745/6), and Culloden (Apr. 16, 1746)
(8) Movements of the French privateers
(9) Examination of prisoners
(10) Disarming of the Highlands

b) The campaigns of the English army in Flanders — the early part of 1745 and 1747

c) The election of peers to the English House of Lords (requests for votes), principally during the period 1770–80

d) Personal and family matters

Persons represented (by ten or more pieces each):

Anne, Queen (17)
Brodie, Alexander (17)
Campbell, Alexander (10)
Campbell, Hugh, 3d Earl of Loudoun (34)
Campbell, Sir James, 2d Bart. of Aberuchill (11)
Campbell, John, 2d Duke of Argyll and Duke of Greenwich (12)
Campbell, John, 4th Duke of Argyll (11)
Campbell, John, 5th Duke of Argyll (19)
Campbell, John, 4th Earl of Loudoun (78)
Campbell, Margaret, Countess of Loudoun (27)
Campbell, Patrick (32)
Cathcart, Charles, 8th Baron Cathcart (12)
Cope, Sir John (17)
Cuningham, Sir William, 3d Bart. (16)
Forbes, Duncan (48)
Fox, Henry, 1st Baron Holland (16)
Fraser, James (31)
Gordon, Adam (10)
Graham, James, 1st Duke of Montrose (11)

Grant, Ludovick (14)
Gray, James (11)
Gun, Alexander (27)
Inglis, Hugh (11)
Lindsay, Colin, 3d Earl of Balcarres (13)
McDonald, Donald (13)
Mackay, Alexander (48)
Mackay, George, 3d Baron Reay (12)
Mackay, George (22)
Mackay, Hugh (of Bighouse) (11)
Mackay, Hugh (10)
Mackenzie, William (25)
MacLeod, John (19)
MacLeod, Normand (21)
McNab, Archibald (17)
Munro, George (33)
Munro, Sir Harry, 7th Bart. (15)
Ross, George (11)
Seton, James (28)
Stuart, John (29)
Sutherland, John (15)
Sutherland, Patrick (11)
Sutherland, William, 17th Earl of Sutherland (21)
Whitefoord, Allan (22)
Wilkinson, William (26)

Important or interesting items:

Charles I. Signed warrant and relief of the Lord Chancellor (Sir John Campbell, 1st Earl of Loudoun) for a certain debt. 1647, Dec. 27

Cope, Sir John (d. 1760), commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Letters complaining of misrepresentation of his conduct at the Battle of Prestonpans and relating to his trial. 1746, May 5, May 9, July 31, Aug. 2

Forbes, Duncan (1685–1747), president of the Court of Session in Scotland. Forty-eight letters and documents, covering the period of 1745, Nov. 16, to 1746, June, and giving much interesting information relative to the Rebellion

Fraser, Simon, 11th Baron Lovat (1667–1747), Jacobite intriguer. Letter to Lady Mackenzie of Scatwell, promising protection for her household. 1745/6, Feb. 18

George I. Four signed documents, and one contemporary copy. One contains instructions for Hugh Campbell, 3d Earl of Loudoun, appointed lord lieu-

tenant of Ayrshire. 1714, Oct. 6; 1714/15, Feb. 3; 1715, Aug. 25; 1720, Mar. 31; 1720/21, Mar. 18

George II. Six signed documents, and two contemporary copies. These include four military commissions granted to John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun. 1727, Aug. 19–1745, Nov. 16

George III. Two signed documents, commissioning the 4th Earl of Loudoun lieutenant general and general. 1760, Oct. 27 and 1770, Apr. 30

Louise Maximilienne Caroline Emmanuèle, Countess of Albany (1753–1824), wife of the Young Pretender. Autograph letter to Lady Helena Robinson. 1821, July 4

Mackenzie, Major William, in command of a company in Loudoun's Highland Regiment. An interesting series of 25 letters and documents descriptive of the operations of the regiment. These are typical of the large group of letters written by Loudoun's subordinate officers, including Alexander Mackay, John Sutherland, Archibald McNab, John Stuart, John MacLeod, and others. 1745, Aug. 13–1747, Dec. 24

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721–65), military commander. Seven documents (six signed), comprising orders and appointments. 1745, May 29–1748, Sept. 29

VI. Papers Relating to Ireland[1]

Provenance:

The Rawdon family, later Earls of Moira, was connected by marriage with the Grahams, and thus with John Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh, father of Lady Graham. The papers of the two families, together with a few belonging to Edward, Earl of Conway, brother of Lady Rawdon, form a collection of seventeenth-century Irish manuscripts which doubtless came into the possession of the Hastings family after the marriage of Lady Elizabeth Hastings to John Rawdon, 1st Earl of Moira, in 1752. A smaller group of the papers of Sir John Davies, Attorney-General of Ireland, probably was preserved by his daughter Lucy, wife of 6th Earl.

Period covered: 1583–1751

The Irish papers consist of approximately 2,300 pieces, chronologically distributed as follows:

	Years	*Number of Pieces*
16th cent.:	1583	1
	1599	2

[1] Cf. also Irish accounts (I) and Irish manorial papers (IV).

17th cent.:	1600–1609	137
	1610–19	127
	1620–27	8
	1631–39	109
	1640–49	168
	1650–59	75
	1660–69	824
	1670–79	245
	1680–88	483
	1690–99	49
18th cent.:	1700–1709	16
	1710–24	35
	1741	1
	1747	1
	1751	1

The bulk of the business correspondence comes after 1665, and most of the political and ecclesiastical material falls into the period before 1664, particularly between 1660 and 1663. The year 1662 is best represented, with 226 pieces.

Subject matter:

Most of the papers may be classified roughly under the following heads, although even in business letters allusions are often made to family affairs and public events of the time.

1. Political papers
 a) Official documents
 (1) Warrants made to Sir John Davies, mostly by Sir Oliver St. John, Sir George Cary, and Sir Arthur Chichester (1603–20)
 (2) Warrants, recognizances, and examinations made by Sir George Rawdon as justice of the peace. The examinations cover such events as the Rebellion of 1641, the plot of Colonel Blood to capture Dublin Castle, and the expected invasion by France in 1667.
 (3) Miscellaneous public documents, such as letters patent, commissions, acts and proposed bills of Parliament, and proclamations
 b) Political correspondence of John Bramhall when he was speaker of the House of Lords (1661–63)
2. Military material, chiefly of the period of 1648–49 and relating to the maintenance of Edward Conway's regiment (under George Monck), of which George Rawdon was major. Orders, proposals, and miscellaneous documents

3. Ecclesiastical papers
 a) Correspondence of John Bramhall, as Bishop of Derry and Archbishop of Armagh, with many English and Irish church officials; mainly regarding questions of church government (1633–63)
 b) Miscellaneous documents, such as:
 (1) Lists of benefices and sees
 (2) Petitions
 (3) Sermons and other papers of purely religious character
4. Family and business papers
 a) Letters from George Monck, 1st Duke of Albemarle, and his agents and business associates, to Sir George Rawdon regarding the Duke's interests in Ireland (1660–70)
 b) Letters of Edward, Earl of Conway, to Sir George Rawdon about his affairs in Ireland, family matters, and public news (1650–83)
 c) Papers of Sir James Graham, Governor of Drogheda, and Lady Graham, consisting of:
 (1) Correspondence with his Scotch relatives and others on business and family matters
 (2) Business documents, mostly dealing with Graham's affairs in Scotland (1645–92)
 d) Correspondence of Sir George Rawdon, 1st Bart., and his family, concerning their own family and business interests. This group includes extensive correspondence relating to the attempt of the Rawdons in 1683–84 to have the will of Edward, Earl of Conway, declared invalid (1650–1715).
 e) Miscellaneous letters and documents
 (1) A few business letters to Sir John Davies
 (2) Such legal papers relating to family affairs as wills, letters of attorney, statements of cases, and marriage agreements
 (3) Business letters of Sir Thomas Bramhall
5. Irish land papers, which are filed with either the deeds or the manorial papers, and included in the reports of those groups

Persons represented (by ten or more pieces each):

Boyle, Michael, Archbishop of Armagh
Boyle, Roger, 1st Earl of Orrery
Bramhall, John, Archbishop of Armagh
Butler, James, 1st Duke of Ormonde
Chichester, Sir Arthur, 1st Baron Chichester

Clarges, Sir Thomas
Clifton, Sir Richard
Coghill, Sir John
Conway, Edward, 1st Earl of Conway
Coote, Richard, Lord Coote, 1st Baron of Coloony
Ellis, Edmond
Farewell, Thomas
Forbes, Arthur, 1st Earl of Granard
Forward, John
Fulwar, Thomas, Archbishop of Cashel
Graham, Lady Isabella
Graham, Sir James
Graham, William, 20th Earl of Menteith and 2d of Airth
James I
Lake, Sir Edward
Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury
Locke, Matthew
Maxwell, Robert
Monck, George, 1st Duke of Albemarle
Montgomery, Hugh, 1st Earl of Mount Alexander
Morley, James
O'Neill, Phelim
Parker, John, Archbishop of Dublin
Parnell, Thomas
Pullen, Samuel, Archbishop of Tuam
Rawdon, Lady Dorothy
Rawdon, Sir George
St. John, Sir Oliver, 1st Viscount Grandison
Stanhope, Thomas
Ussher, James, Archbishop of Armagh
Wild, George, Bishop of Derry

Important or interesting items (originals unless otherwise indicated):

Queen Elizabeth. Letter to the Lieutenant and Governor-General (the Earl of Essex) and Council of Ireland, authorizing the Earl to come to England after appointing two deputies to take his place. (Contemporary copy)
1599, Mar. 27

James I. Twenty-seven letters and documents (21 of them copies), mostly concerning Irish lands. Several are addressed to Sir Arthur Chichester and deal with the plantation of Ulster. Five are documents relating to the offices held

by Sir John Davies, and are sealed with great seals or the private seal of James. 1603–19

Bodley, Sir Josias. Survey of the undertakers and servitors planted in Ulster. (This may be the manuscript mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*: "The second Ware manuscript is said to be 'Observations in English on the forts in Ireland and on the colonies planted in Ulster.' Where this manuscript is now preserved does not appear.") 1613, Apr. 25(

"A booke of the jayle delivery" at a General Sessions for the County of Monaghan — taken before Justice Lowther and Sir John Davies 1617, Apr. 12

Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury. Series of 21 letters to John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, regarding impropriations, church lands, and other matters of church government 1633–40

Butler, James, 1st Duke of Ormonde. Twenty-one letters and documents (of which 6 are contemporary copies) relating to Irish affairs 1641–79

Particulars of the cities, walled towns, castles, forts, and strongholds, with the territories possessed by the Protestants as well as by the "Rebells," in the several provinces of Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster at the time of the cessation of arms in Ireland 1643, Sept. 15

Monck, George (later 1st Duke of Albemarle). "Observations upon Military and Political Affairs." (The work of the same name, published in 1671, appears to be based on this manuscript.) *ca.* 1645

Also a series of orders, negotiations with other officers and with the Council of War, and letters, written during the campaign in Ulster 1648–49

Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. Two friendly letters to John Bramhall 1661, May, Dec.

A series of letters to John Bramhall from three of the commissioners sent by the Irish Parliament to Charles II. The letters relate to the progress of their mission and to other Anglo-Irish affairs. Signed jointly and separately by John King, 1st Baron Kingston, Hugh Montgomery, 1st Earl of Mount Alexander, and John Parker, Bishop of Elphin 1661–62

Sloane, Sir Hans. Letter to Sir Arthur Rawdon concerning his proposed trip to Jamaica and describing conditions at Portsmouth 1687, Sept. 10

VII. Family and Personal Papers

Period covered: 1329–1864

The distribution is fairly equal throughout the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, with fewer documents in the 14th, 15th, and 19th.

Subject matter:

Wills
Various agreements concerning wardships, legacies, annuities, marriages, etc.
Summonses to Parliament (mostly copies and abstracts made in the 19th cent.)
Releases for actions, etc.
Grants of livery
Petitions
Miscellaneous papers

A number of these papers (mostly among the grants of livery and summonses to Parliament) are copies or extracts made in the nineteenth century, presumably to substantiate Hans Francis Hastings' claim to the earldom of Huntingdon; for the present, therefore, they have been included here.

Persons represented:

Primarily members of the Hastings family, and certain of the families related to them by marriage, such as Beaumont, Despenser, Ferrers, Herle, Hungerford, Pole, Rawdon, and Sutton.

Wills (before 1700)

1347, July 22	Sir Hugh de Hastings (late copy)
1377, June 1	Sir John de Meux of Berwick
1397, Sept. 21	Sir Ralph de Hastings (late copy)
1415, July 20	William, Lord Botreaux
1450, June 1	William Hayley of Brill
1459, Apr. 22	Robert, Lord Hungerford
1460, Oct. 8	Sir Leonard Hastings (in English)
1476	Margaret, Lady Hungerford and Botreaux (signed)
1481, June 27	William, Lord Hastings (contemp. copy in English)
1503, Nov. 22	Katherine, Countess of Huntingdon
1506, Nov. 4	Edward, Lord Hastings
ca. 1530	Mary, Lady Hastings and Hungerford
1534, June 13	1st Earl
1544, June 10	2d Earl (signed)
1550, Sept. 6	Anne, Countess of Derby (signed)

1557, Mar. 9	Sir John Port (contemp. copy)
1558, Mar. 28	Sir Thomas Hastings (contemp. copy)
1560, Apr. 20	2d Earl (with record of probate)
1561, May 10	Sir Edward Hastings
1566, May 13	Margaret Hubbert of Southwold, Staffordshire (contemp. copy)
1597, Feb. 5	William Stokes
1603, Oct. 7	Sir Edward Norreys (signed)
ca. 1605	Francis Hastings of North Cadbury
1606, Jan. 26	Dorothy, Countess of Huntingdon (contemp. copy)
1608, June 12	William Hackstall
1612, Mar. 3	Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (contemp. copy)
1625, Feb. 14	Sir Robert Spencer
ca. 1626	Sir John Davies
1630, Feb. 4	Sir Hugh Losse
1656, Sept. 5	Lucy, Countess of Huntingdon (signed)
1665, Aug. 1	Henry Hastings, Baron Loughborough
1670, Sept. 12	Edward Buersall
1673, Dec. 3	Thomas Heckstall
1680, Oct. 10	Sir George Rawdon (signed)
1683, June 28	John Heckstall
1683, Oct. 19	Sir George Rawdon
1689, Dec. 30	Gabriel Hastings
1690, July 22	7th Earl
16—	Francis Hastings of Bosworth

Important or interesting items:

1311, Aug. 21	Indenture between Sir Ralph Fitzwilliam and Sir Nicholas de Hastinges, under which the latter agreed to serve the former in peace and war; their respective obligations fully detailed
ca. 1420	Agreement between William, Lord Botreaux, and Sir Walter Hungerford, for the marriage of Robert, eldest son of Sir Walter, with Margaret, eldest daughter of Lord Botreaux; Sir Walter to have the governance of the children and their lands after the marriage. (In English)
1448, Mar. 24	Indenture of covenants between Thomas Ferrers and Sir Leonard Hastings, for the marriage of Thomas, son and heir apparent of the former, with Anne, daughter of the latter; Thomas agreeing to make over an estate to Anne for her lifetime. (In English)

1453, May 24 — Indenture of covenants between Sir Leonard Hastings, of the one part, and a justice of the king's bench and five feoffees of Bartholomew Brokesby, of the other part, for the marriage of John, son of Brokesby, with Joan, daughter of Sir Leonard. (In English)

1470, Feb. 9 — Indenture between William, Lord Hastings, and John Delves, whereby Lord Hastings constituted the said John his deputy in the office of Master of the Mint. (In English; seal and signature of J. Delves)

1472, Apr. 1 — Instrument for the founding, by Lord Hastings and his brother, of the fraternity of "the Holy Rode in the Walle"

1472, Nov. 6 — Indenture of covenants, between Lord Hastings, of the one part, and Oliver Manyngham, knight, and Eleanor his wife, Lady Hungerford and Molyns, of the other part, for the marriage of Mary, daughter and heir of Thomas Hungerford, knight, son of Eleanor, to Edward, son and heir apparent of Lord Hastings, or, in the event of her refusing or his dying, to Richard, another son, or, in like case, to George, another son. (Contemp. copy; in English)

1474, Aug. 2 — Grant from Lawrence Raynsford and Anne his wife, late wife of Thomas Hungerford, to Lord Hastings, of the wardship and marriage of Mary Hungerford. (Signed by Lawrence Raynsford)

1475, June 2 — Indenture of covenants between Katherine, Countess of Shrewsbury, and Lord Hastings, in pursuance of letters patent granting the wardship of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and certain of his lands, to the said Lord Hastings. (In English)

1475 — Indentures of service of the retainers of William, Lord Hastings:

(1) A list of the retainers, together with statements of their obligations and those of Lord Hastings

(2) The actual indentures of service of about 70 of these retainers. Most of these documents bear the signatures or seals of the parties named, many of whom were members of well-known families in Derbyshire and the Midland Counties.

Signatures of the following occur:

John Agard	Ralph Agard
Nicholas Agard	John Aston

Mauris Barkeley
William Bassett
James Blount
Richard Boughton
Roger Brabazon
Humphrey Bradbourne
Roger Bradshaw
Gervase Clyfton
Thomas Cokeyn
Henry Columbell
John Copeyn
John Curson
Thomas Curson
Ralph Delves
John Divers
John Donnington
Thomas Entweysyll
Richard Eyre
Robert Eyre
Ralph Fitzherbert
John Gresley
Thomas Gresley
William Griffith
John Harcourt
Nicholas Kneveton
John Knyston (Knyveton)
Ralph Langford
William Langton
Philip Leche
John Leek
Henry Longford
Sir Simon Mountford
Nicholas Mountgomery
William Nevill
Hugh Percehale
Ralph Pole
John Sacheverell
Ralph Sacheverell
Richard Seyvell
John Shirley
Ralph Shypley
Robert Slingsby
Humphrey Stanley
John Stanley
Brian Stapilton
Thomas Stather
William Staunton
John Thyrkyll
William Trussell
Ralph Vernon
Henry Willoughby
John Wistowe

1478, Dec. 11 — Indenture between Lord Hastings and John Greffon, whereby the latter agreed for the term of his life to serve the former in peace and war. (In English)

1482, Dec. 24 — Indenture between Thomas Bedell and Bartholomew Vyllers, whereby it was agreed that William, son and heir apparent of the former, should marry Godith, one of the daughters of the latter. (In English)

1489, Oct. 2 — Indenture of agreement, between Lady Katherine Hastings, widow of William, Lord Hastings, and Edward, Lord Hastings, her son, witnessing that the household goods, plate, and jewels of the late lord had been equally divided between them according to his will, except certain items that had been pledged — such items to be redeemed and divided between them. (Signed "Kateryn Hastynges")

1493/4, Mar. 6 — Indenture agreeing that if, upon the death of William Elton and Alice his wife, there should be no surviving heir, all their lands that lately belonged to Margaret Coke, sister of Alice, who had died without issue, should go to Thomas Kebeel upon payment of 20 marks. (In English)

1505, Dec. 17 — Indenture of covenants, between Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, and Edward, Lord Hastings, for the marriage of the former with Anne, daughter of the latter; Lord Hastings to pay 4,000 marks for the marriage. (Signed "T Derby Lord Stanley")

1507, Aug. 27 — Petition of George, Lord Hastings (later 1st Earl), to Henry VII, requesting:

(1) To be permitted to marry "at his owne free will"

(2) To have certain offices, privileges, etc., of his late father, Edward, Lord Hastings, for which he agreed to make payments as detailed. (Signed by Henry VII; in English)

1. *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*

1329, June 15 — At Wilton, Wiltshire, after the death of Johanna, wife of Hugh Wake

1362, Sept. 29 — At Lewes, Sussex, after the death of Thomas Courteney

1391, Oct. 4 — At Leicester, Leicestershire, after the death of Simon Pakeman

1392, Mar. 7 — At York, Yorkshire, after the death of William de Botreaux

1405, Mar. 18 — At Broughton, Hampshire, after the death of Peter Courteney

1434, Mar. 19 — At Ilchester, Somerset, after the death of Elizabeth, wife of William, (Lord?) Botreaux

1449, Sept., Oct. — At Dorchester (Oxfordshire), Bath (Somerset), Exeter (Devon), Shaftesbury (Dorset), Westminster (Middlesex), Devizes (Wiltshire), Winchester (Hampshire) — after the death of Sir Walter Hungerford

A roll of inquisitions held at these places, on paper

1464, Mar. 19 — At Ashburton, Devon, after the death of Robert, Lord Hungerford

1469, Nov. 3 — At Exeter, Devon, after the death of Thomas Hungerford

1478, Sept. 16 — At Wendover, Buckinghamshire, after the death of Agatha, wife of James Cawode

1481, Oct. 30 — At Chepyng Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, after the death of James Cawode

2. Genealogical Papers

Period covered: Early 15th to 19th centuries. About 150 pieces

Subject matter:

Family genealogies, birth, marriage, and death certificates, notices of christenings, copies of epitaphs and monumental inscriptions, and general genealogical data, mainly concerning members of the Hastings family

Important or interesting items:

Genealogical papers tracing the descent of the family of Hastings, the earldoms of Huntingdon and Moira, marquessate of Hastings, and baronetcy of Rawdon, from the earliest family records extant

Pedigree of the branch of the family descended from George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, and miscellaneous papers relating to the claim of the said dukedom instituted, unsuccessfully, by 10th Earl in 1767

Genealogy of the kings of England (illuminated vellum roll, probably early 15th century), from Egbert (*ca.* 800) to Henry IV

A manuscript volume entitled: "Historicall and Genealogical collections of the family of Hastings, Earls of Huntingdon, extracted from originall deeds, charters . . . and other authentik evidences collected, digested and written by Sir William Dugdale . . ." (In the handwriting of Sir William Dugdale)

Emblazoned genealogical roll of the Hastings family, from the time of Sir Henry Hastings (d. 1250) to that of the three children of Sir Hugh, 14th Baron Hastings (d. 1540). Made about 1540

Other genealogies found among the papers are those of:

Davies family	Hubbard
Earls Ferrers	Jolley
Barons Grey de Ruthyn	La Zouch
Barons Strange	Levinge
Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden	Peverell
Homet	Touchet

VIII. Papers Relating to Law Cases

Period covered: 1581–1863

Subject matter:

There are 110 law cases in this collection, comprising 522 pieces. The cases are not equally long nor complete, many having only a single piece while one has 137 pieces. (The whole of any deposition, answer, charge, decision, demur, or other law process, is here referred to as a "piece," whether it consists of one page or more.)

These cases are concerned, for the most part, with land: disputes over inherited properties and mortgaged lands; varied legacies and the right of succession; manorial difficulties (i.e., boundary disputes, the grinding of corn and grain, usurpation of the common pasture, etc.). Some of the cases are of a personal nature and two are criminal actions.

Persons represented:

Of the 97 suits included, there are 30 in which the Hastings family or the Earls of Huntingdon (5th to 10th) participate. The Rawdon family figure in 15 of the suits, and the rest are concerned with various people.

Important or interesting items:

1581 Edward Lane and Thomas Hampton *vs.* John Mansfield. Dispute over alum works. A letter from the Lords of Council. 1 piece

1605 Francis, Lord Norris, Earl of Berkshire *vs.* Sir Richard Wenman, 1st Viscount Wenman. A contest of the will of Sir Edward Norris, Baron Norris of Rycote, Governor of Ostend. 1 piece

1626, 1628 5th Earl *vs.* Sir Henry Shirley. For libellous remarks and hunting on the grounds of the Earl. 14 pieces

1627 Case of 6th Earl and Sir Archibald Douglas. Suit for possession of Englefield, formerly owned by Sir John Davies. Claimed by Lady Elinore and Sir Archibald Douglas as inheritance. Claimed by Ferdinando and the Countess Lucy, his wife, as dowry. 62 pieces

1636 Cases having to do with ship money. 8 pieces

1683 Sir Arthur Rawdon, 2d Bart. of Moira *vs.* Ursula, Countess of Conway. A dispute over the estate of the Earl of Conway, deceased. 137 pieces

IX. Parliamentary Papers

Period covered: 1532–1768

By far the greatest proportion are of the 17th century, only two being of the 16th and five of the 18th centuries. Most of the documents are centered around 1610–28, 1640, and 1675–95. There are about 250 pieces.

Subject matter:

Speeches
Copies of acts
Notes made by and for 7th Earl
Returns of members (1554, 1604, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628)
Petitions of both houses to the King

Important or interesting items:

1675, 1691–93	A series of 23 communications from John Relfe to 7th Earl, at Donington, containing brief accounts of transactions in Parliament
1677–78, 1689, 1695	A series of rough notes (about 100 pp.) on proceedings in Parliament, made by 7th Earl

X. Papers Relating to Local Affairs in Leicestershire

Period covered: 1550–1826

The first quarter of the 17th century contains about half of the documents. There is nothing to be found for the period 1640–72. There are about 150 pieces and a 400-page Book of Entries.

Subject matter:

Warrants, proclamations, and all manner of regulations relating to local affairs
Subsidies and other levies by the King
Fairs
Musters of, and provisions for, troops
Appointments and lists of local officials
Local ordinances

There are a few papers relating to other counties, which have come into this collection because of the joint lieutenancy vested in the Earls of Huntingdon.

Privy Council letters to the lord lieutenant, and all letters to and from other local officials, are filed with the correspondence.

Important or interesting items:

1550, May 28	Commission by Edward VI and his Council of Regency appointing 2d Earl to be Lieutenant of Rutland. Signed by Edward VI; Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset; William Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire; John Russell, Earl of Bedford; Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln; George, Lord Cobham; William, Baron Paget; Sir Anthony Wingfield; and William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke
1572–73	A list of the officers, etc., of Leicester, including the twenty-four, the forty-eight, and of the various wards.
[*ca.* 1605] Nov. 8	Confession of William Andrew, servant to Sir Everard Digby, made to the justices of the king's peace in Leicester, concerning Sir Everard Digby's part in the Gunpowder Plot
1608, Dec. 29	Directions relating to the conservation of grain during the period of scarcity
1614–27	Entry book of patents, warrants, official correspondence, etc., to and from 5th Earl, relating to the lieutenancy of Leicester. A wealth of material, covering about 400 folio pages
1620–1714	"The booke of the penell lawes made & provided for the publique . . . of the Inhabitantes of Ashbie de la Zouche agreed upon by ye Jury & other Inhabitantes ye 8th day of October 1629" The entries fall mainly under two dates: the above (confirmed by the jury on October 10, 1648) and October 19, 1686 (imposed by the leet and court-baron of 7th Earl). There are numerous other regulations, scattered before and after this last date, made at the court-leet and bearing signatures of jurymen, stewards, etc. 91 pp.
1624, June 28	5th Earl's warrant to the constable of Long Whatton, following the slaying of a man at a game of football between the towns of Castle Donington and Ashton, to take precautions at another game soon to take place between the towns of Long Whatton and Barton

XI. Maps and Plans

Period covered: 1656–19th century

With few exceptions, these manuscripts are of the 19th century. The earlier maps are mentioned under the heading: "Important or interesting items."

Subject matter:

This group of 60 manuscripts consists of maps (34), plans (22), and diagrams (4). The maps are of estates, or parts thereof, and of sections of English or Irish counties in which lands of the Hastings or Rawdon families were to be found. The plans or architectural drawings are of proposed buildings or of ground plots. The diagrams are of mechanical devices or patterns for house decorations.

Important or interesting items:

"The Mannor and land of Castletowne of Moylough in ye Parrish of Rathmullian Barony of Moyfenragh & County of Meath Admeasured by Patrick Allen 1656." (Vellum, colored)

Map of Donington and parts of Leicester and Derby. (Paper, pasted on a vellum indenture; paper decayed.) *ca.* 1673

"A map of the Mills Islands and ponds att Castle Donnington." (Colored, on paper.) Late 16th or early 17th cent.

Old map of Meath, showing Doudstown and other towns and manors. (Partly colored)

"A Survey of the Mannor Townes & Lands of Rathmolyn being a part of the Estate of the Honble Sr John Rawdon Situate in the Barony of Moyfenragh and County of East Meath, . . . Surveyed Anno 1712 by me Alexander Stewart." Has a list of tenants and lands.

XII. Miscellaneous Papers

A. Band of Gentlemen Pensioners

Period covered: 1672–86

Subject matter:

In 1682, 7th Earl was appointed captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. These papers comprise the records of the Band, such as orders, petitions, grants, appointments, lists of officers, etc. There are about 45 pieces.

Important or interesting items:

Charles II. Order to 7th Earl, countersigned by Robert Spencer, 2d Earl of Sunderland, admitting Sir Thomas Bludworth standard bearer of the Gentlemen Pensioners (Feb., 1684/5); order to 7th Earl to admit Francis Villiers, lieutenant of the Band (Feb., 1684/5); order to 7th Earl to admit William Thomas as Clerk of the Checque to the Band

Orders concerning the "weekly waiting" to be observed by the members of the Band. 1685

List of the captains of the Band since its institution. Oct. 23, 1683

B. America

Period covered: 1597–1823

Subject matter:

These papers relating to America fall mainly into three groups:

1. 1610–28. Letters and documents concerning the interests of 5th Earl in the Virginia Company
2. 1767–68. Documents concerning lands in Florida granted to John Rawdon, 1st Earl of Moira
3. 1775–76. A series of 16 letters from Francis Rawdon-Hastings, 1st Marquess of Hastings and 2d Earl of Moira, written while with the army in America, addressed to 10th Earl

(The letters in the above classification are described in II.)

Important or interesting items:

1610–13	Virginia Company of London. Three original Bills of Adventure, or share certificates, issued to 5th Earl. These are printed forms filled in, and each has the large seal of the Virginia Company.
[1610–11]	Virginia Company of London. The names of the underwriters, together with their subscriptions. (The original record has been lost. This is one of the two known contemporary copies.)
[1613]	Virginia Company of London. A paper indorsed, "A note what quantity of ground shalbe sett forth for an Adventuror to Virginia that adventures £120 given my Lord by the Marchants"
1616, Dec. 2	Edward Hastings. Surrender of annuity in exchange for £680 with which to furnish his voyage to Guiana. (Signed by Edward Hastings)

1620, Apr. 5	5th Earl. Power of attorney to Nicholas Martiau and Benjamin Blewett to manage his estates in Virginia. (Contemp. copy)
[*ca.* 1644] May 25	William Davys. A résumé of the various proceedings of 5th Earl in Virginia
1669, May 6	A note of certain papers concerning a plantation of 5th Earl in Virginia
1748	Speech of Miss Polly Baker before a "Court of Iudicature" in Connecticut, on the occasion of the fifth prosecution of her for bastardy — the speech having influenced the court to dispense with punishment of her and induced one of her judges to marry her
[*ca.* 1763]	Scheme for the establishment of trade and navigation in America
1767–68	Two orders to survey land in Florida, granted to John Rawdon, 1st Earl of Moira, and two maps of the grants
[*ca.* 1781]	Address of certain inhabitants of Charleston to Lord Rawdon, commander of His Majesty's forces in the province of South Carolina. (With 38 signatures)
[*ca.* 1781]	List of queries, on the war in America, submitted to Lord Rawdon, with answers in his hand
[*ca.* 1782]	Papers concerning the dispute, between Lord Rawdon and the Duke of Richmond, arising from the execution of Isaac Hayne, of South Carolina
[1823]	John Evans. Memorial, on behalf of the Marquess of Hastings, to the commissioners appointed to investigate the claims of British subjects to grants of land in East Florida

C. Literature

Period covered: 17th–19th centuries

Subject matter:

This part of the collection is composed of papers having a measure of literary value or interest, such as copies of poems, anecdotes, and epigrams; also, the poetical efforts of certain members of the Hastings family, prominent among which are those of Lady Flora Hastings, daughter of the first Marquess of Hastings. Attention should be called to letters, of some literary interest and written by the following persons, which are filed with the general correspondence and described in that division of this report:

John Fletcher [)1625]
Sir Roger L'Estrange (1674, Apr. 1)
Bathsua Makin (1664, 1668)
Thomas Moore (*ca.* 1802)
John Murray Fisher (1839–40)
Charles F. Palmer (1762)
Samuel Pepys (1685, Aug. 1)
———Roby (*ca.* 1627)
Voltaire (1771)
Henry Wriothesley, 3d Earl of Southampton (1625)

Interesting items:

Bathsua Makin. Poem on the death of Henry, Lord Hastings. *ca.* 1649
"The Ghost of Honest Tom Rosse." 17th cent.
"Song of the Land and Poll Tax, time of King William."
"To Dr. Askew: On the Buckle verses in Lloyd's Chronicle." 18th cent.
Fragment from "The Silent Tower of Botreaux," by the Rev. J. Hawker
Verses by S. Ellis, "a great traveller," to Miss Fanny Prat. (In the hand of 10th Earl.) 18th cent.
Italian sonnets. *ca.* 1750–60
"Ode to Willesley" — poem supposed to have been written by the tutor of Thomas Abney. 1770
Poems and other literary efforts by Lady Flora Hastings, covering the period 1812–38 (from the time she was only six years old). About 50 pieces
"Epilogue to the Eunuch, spoken by Pythias. Bringing in the Marriage Bill of 1753."
Discourse delivered by Dr. Tommaso Crudeli before the "Accademia degli Apatisti." (In Italian.) *ca.* 1738

D. Repton School[1] *and Etwall Hospital*

Period covered: 1538–1826. About 125 pieces

There are no manuscripts for the period 1637–86. It should be stated that one of the finest groups of early deeds in this collection relates to the priories of Calke and Repton. Curiously enough, these deeds did not come into the Hastings family with the Repton School manuscripts, but through the marriage of Selina, daughter of Washington Shirley, 2d Earl Ferrers, to 9th Earl.

[1] Cf. correspondence relating to Repton School and Etwall Hospital, in II, A.

Subject matter:

Rentals and valuations of lands belonging to the school
Petitions
Papers concerning the various chancery proceedings involving the foundation
Correspondence (which is filed with the general correspondence of the collection, but listed here under "Persons represented")

Persons represented:

Bald, Peter
Beardsley, J.
Bower, W.
Coke, John
Degge, Sir Simon
Doughty, John
Gerard, Sir Thomas
Gerard, Sir William
Harpur, Sir John
Hastings, Henry, 5th Earl
Hoyland, J.
Jackson, John
Jacques, Anne
Jennings, John
Marsh, Lawrence
Morton, George
Moseley, Henry
Roades, George
Stanhope, Philip, 1st Earl of Chesterfield
Stanhope, Philip, 2d Earl of Chesterfield
Thacker, Jane

Important or interesting items:

1538, June 20	Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity at Repton. Receipt for £37 13*s.* 4*d.*, from Sir John Port, for land sold to him in East Leake and a yearly rent in Sutton Bonnington, Nottinghamshire. (In English, on paper, and with the seal of Repton *en placard*)
1556/7, Mar. 9	Sir John Port. Several copies of his will
1614–20	About a dozen papers concerning the chancery proceedings, instituted by the heirs of the founder, 5th Earl, Philip

Lord Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Gerard, against Sir John Harpur

1621, June 20 James I. Letters patent establishing Sir John Port's charity in Etwall and Repton as a hospital and free school, with the constitutions for the same. (Contemp. copy, on 8 leaves of a folio volume; vellum)

E. Education

Period covered: 1600–*ca.* 1835

Subject matter:

This part of the collection includes the school exercises by members of the Hastings family, and a few by others (1740–46) — probably collected by the tutor of 10th Earl. There are about 25 manuscript volumes and 100 loose pieces.

A summary description of the papers of greatest interest, under subject headings, follows:

History:

"Notes out of Plutarch's Lives." Probably written during the life of Shakespeare, showing how Plutarch was studied during the times of Elizabeth and James. *ca.* 1600

"Notes on the fifth Booke of Sir Walter Rawlis' History of the Worlde." Cover the period from the Creation to the time of Abraham. There are also a few pages under the title "English Chronicle" — from the time of William the Conqueror to the death of Owen Glendower. *ca.* 1620

Notes from the history of the Peloponnesian War by Thucydides, and from Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World.* *ca.* 1660

Notes on the Punic Wars. 17th cent.

"An Index to the Ancient History of Ireland." 17th cent.

Extracts of Persian history, etc. (In Latin.) 17th cent.

Notes on European history, 1302 to 1513. 17th cent.

Manuscript volume containing careful notes on the history of Greece, the Macedonian and Roman empires, etc.

Manuscript volume entitled, "Notes taken out of the Turkish historie," from the beginning of the Turkish kingdom to the reign of Hahmat I, eighth emperor of the Turks. 17th cent.

Commonplace book, with notes on the reigns of certain English kings and on general history

Extracts from annals relating to the Roman occupation of Britain. 17th cent.

Languages:

Exercises in Spanish, French, Greek, Latin, and Italian, by members of the Hastings family — the majority in the hand of 10th Earl. Early 17th cent. to *ca.* 1835

Miscellaneous subjects:

"Severall Collections or Observations out of Du Verger's booke intituled 'Admirable events and Morall Relacons.'" Short discourses dealing with such subjects as virtue, women, beauty, honor, marriage, etc. 1647

Commonplace book, containing notes on philosophy, science, history, poetry, etc. — also on *The English Chronicle.* 17th cent.

"Abbrege de Logique." A 33-page manuscript volume, carefully compiled. 17th cent.

Part of a series of epistles in couplets. 17th cent.

Commonplace book of mathematics, with measures, and rules for measuring, from works by John Speidell, professor of mathematics in London. 17th cent.

"Notes on the numbers of the Heavens," expressing the astronomical theories characteristic of the times. 17th cent.

List of French books on astronomy. *ca.* 1770

Extracts from the books of Seneca on benefits. 17th cent.

Notes headed "Ethica." (In Latin.) *ca.* 1742

"Compendium Logico." (In Latin.) 1669

Notes for the study of logic — in the hand of 7th Earl. 1667

F. Religious and Ecclesiastical Affairs

Period covered: 1561–17th cent.

Subject matter:

These papers, about 60 in number, comprise sermons, prayers, meditations, advice on spiritual matters, etc.

Persons represented and interesting items:

An injunction from Queen Elizabeth to Dr. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, commanding that no head or member of any college or cathedral church be permitted to have his wife or other woman dwell there. 1561, Aug. 9

A defense of the conduct of the Puritan ministers in refusing to take the ex officio oath (probably written by Thomas Cartwright in 1590 or 1591); an answer to the foregoing, headed, "Unto this treatise this Answeare is made,

in the name and behalfe of the Bishopps and the highe Commission by Doctor Andrewes, when he did answeare the divinitie Act in the Schooles at Cambridge when he proceeded docter"; "A letter which Archbishopp Gryndall of Canterburie sent [Dec. 20, 1576] unto Queene Elizabeth moved by Hatton and some other, to restraine the number of preachers: and to putt downe all exercises and conferences among ministers in publik throughe the land." (Contemp. copy. 64 pp. 4to)

Commonplace book, containing notes of sermons, and religious meditations. *ca.* 1620–31

5th Earl. "A short meditation . . ." and other notes on religious matters. 1622

Lucy, Countess of Huntingdon. Two prayers, a memorandum book with notes on the Scriptures, a "Methode for Private Devotion," and "Notes and observations taken out of the whole duty of man . . ." *ca.* 1630–79

Cardinal Richelieu. Papers entitled: "The Supremacy of the Pope," "Of the Scriptures of Tradition," and "Of the sacrifice of the Eucharist propitiatorie." 1635

George Gordon, 2d Marquess of Huntly. His oath subscribing the confession of faith. 1638⟨

7th Earl. Four memorandum books, with notes on sermons and sundry religious matters; "A Briefe for me for Devotion"; and "Text of Scripture relating to the Article of Faith." 1660–98

Charles Drelincourt. "An Abridgment of controversy or a summary of the errors of the Church of Rome . . ." 1666

Lady Eleanor Douglas. A paper, in her handwriting, headed: "Bathe Daughter of Babylondon — woman sitting on seven mountains. Beholde . . ." ⟩1670

"Notts and Leicester Case relating to ye people called Quakers." *ca.* 1685

"Copie of the paper found in King Charles II's strong box concerning controversy." 1685

Ecclesiastical Commission. Proceedings. 1687

James II. Letters patent renewing the Ecclesiastical Commission. 1687

"Certane Collections of . . . Elizabeth, late Countess of Huntingdon . . ." Contains prayers, quotations from the Scriptures, etc. 1688⟨⟩1700

Parliamentary Bill entitled, "An Acte against nounresidentes and Pluralities of Benefices." Early 17th cent.

"The forme of Government used in the kirk of Scotland." 17th cent.

"Concerning the order for morning Prayer . . ." 17th cent.

Commonplace book. A bound MS volume, in Latin, on religious problems, addressed to Mr. Woodley. 17th cent.

G. Forests

Period covered: 1203–1809

Subject matter:

These papers relate to the forests of Leicester (33 pieces) and Rutland (1 piece), Charnwood Forest (20 pieces), and Sherwood Forest (1 piece). There are appointments of officers of the forest, petitions for partition and inclosure, regulations for hunting and the felling of wood, as well as grants of right of way and right of inclosure.

Deeds of forest lands will be found with the Huntingdon deeds, under the respective counties.

Persons represented:

These papers contain, besides the names of many prominent men of the period, the signatures of:

Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury
James I
Edward Conway, Viscount Conway
6th Earl
James Ellis, Mayor of Leicester

Important or interesting items:

1203, July 3	King John. Mandate to Hugh de Neville with regard to the sale of wood in the royal forests
1247, Jan. 22	Leicester Forest. Indenture of an agreement between Roger de Quency, Earl of Winchester, and Roger de Somere, with regard to the inclosing of Bradgate Park and the hunting in the Forest of Leicester
1300	Edward I. Grant to Theobald de Neville to be keeper of the Forest of Rutland With the great seal
1466	Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV. Grant to William, Lord Hastings, and Ralph Hastings, to be overseers of vert and venison in Rockingham Forest With the Queen's seal
1559, Apr. 11	Thomas Radcliffe, 3d Earl of Essex. Commission to Edward, Lord Hastings of Loughborough, to inquire into wood sales made in Hertfordshire since the death of Henry VIII Signed by "T. Essex," with his seal *en placard*

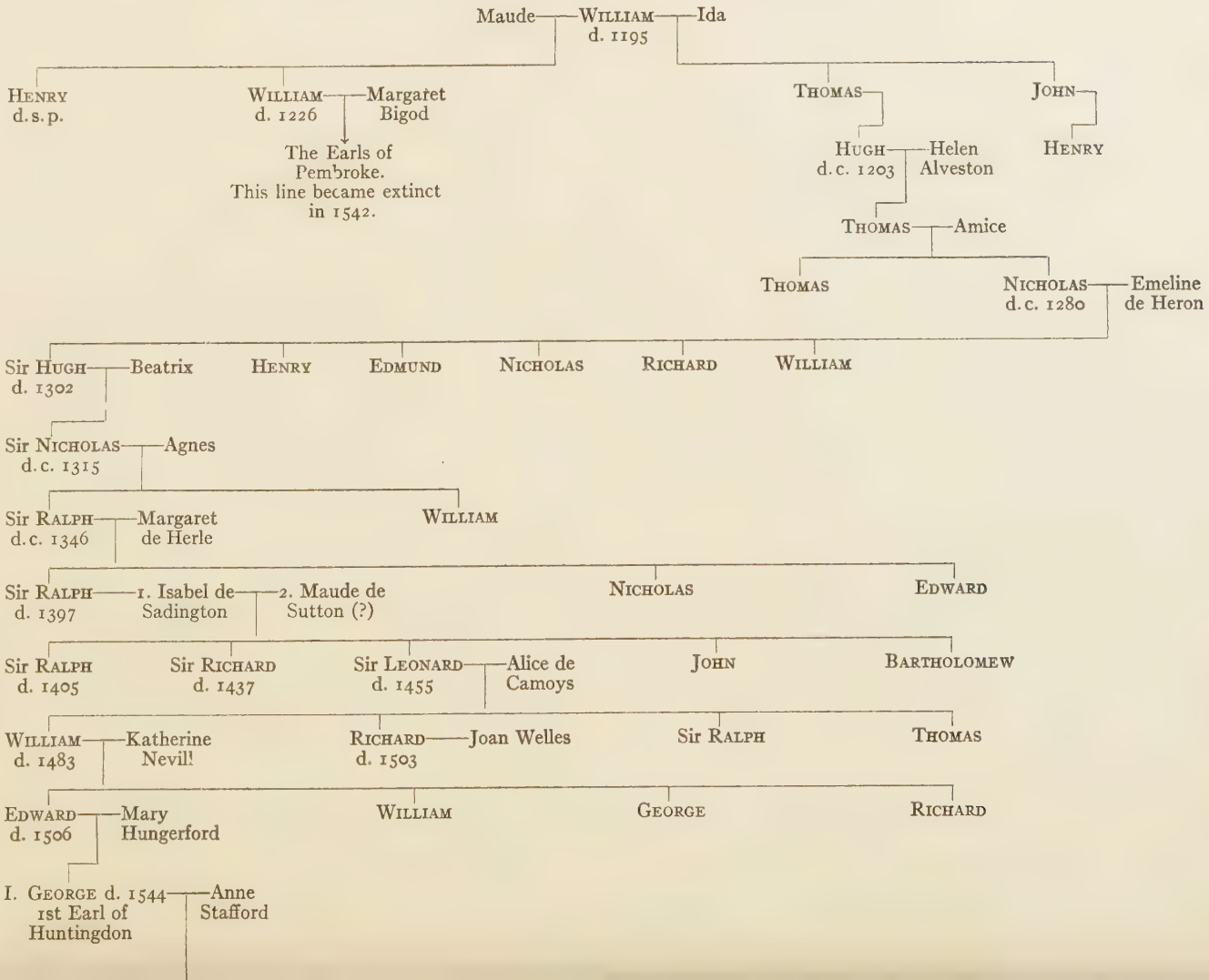
H. Various Subjects

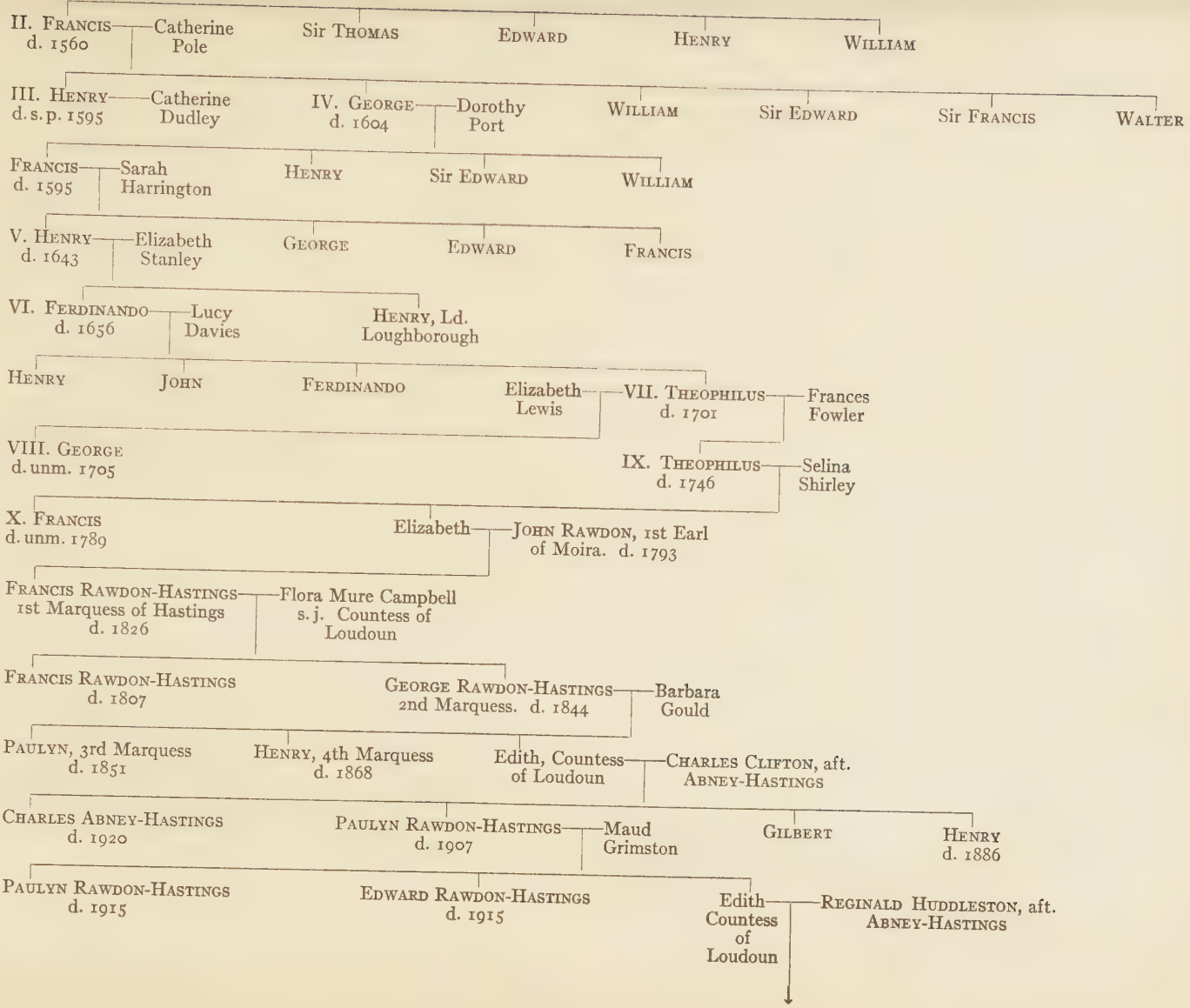
[14th–16th cents.] A commonplace book of 282 pages, containing numerous medical, chemical, and alchemical recipes and formulas, copies of older treatises on the same subjects, a fragment of a chronicle of events in England and Scotland from 1170 to 1322, rates and values of English and Continental money, etc.

1628, Feb. 1 [Sir Robert Cotton.] "The danger wherein the kingdome now standeth and the Remedyes." (Contemp. copy, 10 leaves, 8vo)

[*ca.* 1660] "A trew relatioun of the meanes and wayes w^{ch} hath been persewed to bring persons excluded by Acte of Church and State vnto places of Trust and power in Iudicatories and Armies." (5 leaves, 8vo)

XIII. Genealogical Outline Tracing the Accumulation and Transmission of the Hastings Papers




II. Francis d. 1560
Catherine Pole
Sir Thomas
Edward
Henry
William
III. Henry d. s. p. 1595
Catherine Dudley
IV. George d. 1604
Dorothy Port
William
Sir Edward
Sir Francis
Walter
Francis d. 1595
Sarah Harrington
Henry
Sir Edward
William
V. Henry d. 1643
Elizabeth Stanley
George
Edward
Francis
VI. Ferdinando d. 1656
Lucy Davies
Henry, Ld. Loughborough
Henry
John
Ferdinando
Elizabeth Lewis
VII. Theophilus d. 1701
Frances Fowler
VIII. George d. unm. 1705
IX. Theophilus d. 1746
Selina Shirley
X. Francis d. unm. 1789
Elizabeth
John Rawdon, 1st Earl of Moira. d. 1793
Francis Rawdon-Hastings 1st Marquess of Hastings d. 1826
Flora Mure Campbell s. j. Countess of Loudoun
Francis Rawdon-Hastings d. 1807
George Rawdon-Hastings 2nd Marquess. d. 1844
Barbara Gould
Paulyn, 3rd Marquess d. 1851
Henry, 4th Marquess d. 1868
Edith, Countess of Loudoun
Charles Clifton, aft. Abney-Hastings
Charles Abney-Hastings d. 1920
Paulyn Rawdon-Hastings d. 1907
Maud Grimston
Gilbert
Henry d. 1886
Paulyn Rawdon-Hastings d. 1915
Edward Rawdon-Hastings d. 1915
Edith Countess of Loudoun
Reginald Huddleston, aft. Abney-Hastings

Thomas Digges, the Copernican System, and the Idea of the Infinity of the Universe in 1576

By FRANCIS R. JOHNSON AND SANFORD V. LARKEY[1]

ONE of the most striking features of the history of astronomy in England during the last half of the sixteenth century is the rapidly increasing popular knowledge of the Copernican theory of the universe. Writers upon the history of science, however, have been responsible for many erroneous notions concerning the progress of these new astronomical ideas, for they have tended to ignore the very strong vernacular tradition among important English scientific workers of the period. Consequently, they have almost entirely overlooked the work of Thomas Digges, who, besides being the leading English astronomer of the time and an ardent supporter of Copernicus, was the first to advance the idea of an infinite universe as a corollary to the Copernican system.

Although this was in 1576 — several years before Bruno — most discussions of Elizabethan astronomy are still centered upon two men, Giordano Bruno and William Gilbert. Histories of science abound with statements to the effect that Giordano Bruno was the first person publicly to proclaim in England the new Copernican theory of the universe and also the first to add, as a corollary to the new system, the idea that the universe was infinite in extent. Equally common are assertions that William Gilbert was the first English scientist of note to give his support to the Copernican system. Statements of this sort are inaccurate and altogether misleading. Although Bruno was in England from 1583 to 1585, he was a foreigner speaking no English,

[1] The authors wish to thank Dr. Edwin P. Hubble, of the Mount Wilson Observatory of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, for his many valuable suggestions in connection with the preparation of this article, and for the loan of a number of rare books from his private library. They also acknowledge the kind assistance of Miss Elizabeth Connor, Librarian of the Mount Wilson Observatory, in tracing references to Thomas Digges in the works on the history of astronomy in her charge.

and was known to only a few people: those of his works printed in London were all written in either Latin or Italian. Scholars who have studied the question agree that there is no evidence that Bruno's visit or his ideas created any great stir in England at the time, or that he exerted any influence outside a very limited circle.[1] The few contemporary references that exist relate to other features of his teaching and not to his Copernican doctrines. In the case of William Gilbert, his great work, *De Magnete*, was published in Latin, not English, and at the late date of 1600. Furthermore, Gilbert insisted only on the daily rotation of the earth, and ignored almost entirely the question of its annual revolution. Not even in his other work — published long after his death — the *De Mundo nostro Sublunari Philosophia Nova* (Amsterdam, 1651), did he definitely accept the earth's motion about the sun, for he wavered between the heliocentric system of Copernicus and the system proposed by Tycho Brahe.

It is not, therefore, to Bruno or to Gilbert that the sixteenth-century Englishman owed whatever knowledge or understanding he might have concerning the new Copernican system of the universe. Unless he were an eminent scholar or scientist, he obtained his information from popular works, written in English. Consequently, we must examine these books to get a true idea of what the average Elizabethan knew about this new astronomical system and the arguments advanced in its favor. Realizing this, the authors of the more scholarly discussions of Elizabethan science have made a point of mentioning the favorable references to Copernicus found in the popular scientific works of the period. They rightly note that Robert Recorde's *Castle of Knowledge*, published in 1556, is the earliest English book that is known to contain a definite reference to Copernicus. In this book,[2] Recorde shows he was prepared to accept the rotation of the earth, and to consider the physical truth of the entire Copernican system as at least highly probable.

The other English Copernicans most often mentioned are John Dee and John Field. At the beginning of Field's *Ephemeris Anni. 1557. Currentis Iuxta Copernici et Reinhaldi Canones* (London: Thomas

[1] See Oliver Elton, "Giordano Bruno in England," *Modern Studies* (London, 1907); also William Boulting, *Giordano Bruno* (London, 1914), p. 113.

[2] *Castle of Knowledge* (1556), pp. 164–65.

Marshe, 1556) are two short epistles to the reader — the first by Dee and the second by Field — both supporting the Copernican theory, more, it seems, as a valuable aid to astronomical calculation than as a physical reality. Both of these notices, however, are in Latin, and in a work of a specialized rather than a popular nature. Dee, moreover, when he later came to write his English preface to Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid,[1] made all his references to astronomical matters upon the basis of the Ptolemaic and not the Copernican system.

By far the most important of the English supporters of Copernicus was Thomas Digges, yet, strangely enough, he has been mentioned less frequently than any of the others. Even when Digges has been mentioned, the reason has been the passing references to Copernicus in his other works; his most important treatise has been almost entirely overlooked by all writers on the history of science. In 1576, when a new edition of the *Prognostication euerlastinge* of his father, Leonard Digges, was printed, Thomas Digges added to it a short work entitled, *A Perfit Description of the Caelestiall Orbes according to the most aunciente doctrine of the Pythagoreans, latelye reuiued by Copernicus and by Geometricall Demonstrations approued.* There are at least five reasons why this work must be regarded as the principal English treatise on the Copernican system to be printed before the second quarter of the seventeenth century. In the first place, Thomas Digges was justly regarded by his contemporaries as the foremost English mathematician of the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign, with the possible exception of John Dee. In this work Digges ardently proclaims his unqualified support of the Copernican theory as the only tenable theory of the universe. Secondly, this treatise is, for the most part, a translation into English of those chapters of Book I of Copernicus' *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* in which the main features of the new heliocentric system are explained, and the Aristotelian and Ptolemaic arguments against it are refuted; thus it is almost certainly the first English translation of Copernicus, and was definitely so regarded by Thomas Digges, its author. Thirdly, this work is the first English book that is known to contain a diagram of

[1] *The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara* (London: John Daye, 1570).

the universe according to the heliocentric system. Fourthly, the book containing this treatise was one of the most widely read and popular books of the period. Besides this edition of 1576, at least six more editions of the *Prognostication euerlastinge* had been printed by the year 1605, all containing the addition by Thomas Digges on the Copernican system. Copies exist of editions dated 1578, 1583 [colophon 1584], 1585, 1592, 1596, and 1605. Of most of these editions only one or two copies are extant, and these are often imperfect, so that it seems entirely possible that other editions may have been printed of which no copy has survived.

Finally, and most important of all to the student of the history of astronomy, Thomas Digges did not confine himself in this work merely to translating and explaining Copernicus' ideas, but made a very important addition of his own. Copernicus had been content to retain the eighth sphere of the old system as the outermost boundary of his own, conceiving the fixed stars as located on the surface of this sphere. It is true that he made this sphere immovable, and, in order to account for the absence of any noticeable annual parallax of the stars, gave it a diameter vastly greater than that assigned to it by previous astronomers. Otherwise, the conception of the sphere of the fixed stars remained the same as in the Ptolemaic system. On the question of the infinity of the universe Copernicus refused to take a definite stand, saying, in the words of Digges' translation, "whether the worlde haue his boundes or bee in deede infinite and without boundes, let vs leaue that to be discussed of Philosophers." Thomas Digges, however, definitely maintains in his work that the universe is infinite, that the stars are numberless, and that they are located at varying distances from the center, the sun, and extend throughout infinite space. Likewise, in his diagram of the universe, he departs from Copernicus by placing the stars at varying distances and asserts in the legend that this "orbe of starres fixed infinitely vp extendeth hit self in altitude spherically."

It seems surprising that so important a treatise should have been almost completely neglected by all writers on the history of science in the Elizabethan period. It is true that the work appears merely as an addition appended to the later editions of Leonard Digges' *Prognostication euerlastinge*, and thus was not, as a rule, listed as a separate

title. However, the presence of Thomas Digges' Copernican treatise in one edition of the *Prognostication*, that of 1592, has been noted in numerous bibliographies, beginning as early as 1595. In that year Andrew Maunsell, in *The Seconde parte of the Catalogue of English printed Bookes*, lists the 1592 edition of the *Prognostication euerlastinge* as follows: "Leon. *Diggs* gent. his Prognostication euerlasting, contayning . . . Wher-vnto is added by T. *Diggs* his sonne, A perfect discription of the Celestiall Orbes, according to the most ancient doctrine of the Pythagorians. Latelie reuiued by *Copernicus*, &c. Also certaine errors by him noted, vsually practised in Nauigation. Reprin. by Tho. Orwin. 1592. 4." [1]

Anthony à Wood recorded Thomas Digges' treatise on Copernicus, both in the *Athenae Oxonienses* and in his Latin work, the *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*. In the former, it appears in the list of the works of Thomas Digges as: "*Perfect Description of the Celestial Orbs, according to the most ancient Doctrine of the Pythagoreans*, &c. Lond. 1592, qu. set at the end of his father's *Prognostication*." [2] In the latter work, Wood notes the 1592 *Prognostication* under Leonard Digges' name, adding to the entry the words, "Cui subnectitur Orbium Copernicanorum accurata descriptio." [3] Most subsequent references to this work in bibliographies, including that in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, are derived from one or the other of these entries by Anthony à Wood. It is interesting to note in passing that Lalande, in his *Bibliographie Astronomique* (Paris, 1803), used the second of the two works just mentioned, and attempted to recreate the English title-page from Wood's Latin, listing the book as: "1592 — Leonard Digges, Accurate description of the Copernican system to the astronomical perpetual prognostication." [4] Houzeau and Lancaster, in their *Bibliographie Générale de l'Astronomie* (Brussels, 1887),[5] reproduce Lalande's entry, and also list the work under Thomas Digges' name, deriving their information from the *Athenae Oxonienses*, not realizing that they were dealing with the same work.

The chief source for further details has been Whewell's attempt to give a more complete account of this important English treatise on

[1] P. 7, column 2.
[2] *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss (1813), I, 637.
[3] *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1674), II, 62.
[4] P. 124.
[5] I, 783, and I, 598.

the Copernican system, based upon an examination of a copy of the original work. Whewell, however, did not himself see a copy of the book. Instead, as he tells us,[1] he had his friend, Professor Walker at Oxford, examine the copy of the 1592 edition of the *Prognostication euerlastinge* in the Bodleian Library and send him some notes concerning it. Unfortunately, the diagram of the universe has been lost from the copy of the 1592 edition in the Bodleian, and Professor Walker, apparently, did not read farther than the first paragraph of Digges' preface to the reader. He transcribed, and Whewell quotes, this preface as far as, "So many wayes is the sense of mortall men abused." All or part of this quotation has often been reproduced in later works on the history of astronomy, but it has always been taken from Whewell and not the original text. The conclusion drawn from it by Whewell and those who have followed him has merely been that Thomas Digges definitely believed in the Copernican system by 1592.[2] No one has noted that Digges' treatise was first published in 1576, not 1592; that it translates the non-mathematical portions of Book I of *De revolutionibus*; and that it goes beyond Copernicus by insisting on the infinity of the universe.[3]

Because this important work of Thomas Digges has had the fate of being often noted, but never read or fully described, and because copies of the book in which it appears are extremely rare, the whole of

[1] *History of the Inductive Sciences* (3d ed.; London, 1857), I, 383–87.

[2] Whewell himself, being familiar with Digges' earlier work, the *Alae seu Scalae Mathematicae*, knew that by 1573 Digges was convinced of the probable truth of the Copernican system. Whewell is referring to this work, not the 1576 treatise, when he says (*ibid.*, p. 295) that Digges had adopted the Copernican system "ten years before" 1583, the year that Bruno came to England.

[3] E. F. Bosanquet, in *English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications* (London, 1917), records all of the editions of the *Prognostication euerlastinge* containing Thomas Digges' treatise, except those of 1583 and 1605. They appear as Nos. clxxx, clxxxi, clxxxiii, clxxxiv, and clxxxv, and the collations given note in each case the presence of the Copernican treatise at the end, but no further comment or information is given. Apparently the only earlier account of Digges' treatise not derived from Whewell is in the articles by Augustus De Morgan, especially his "The Progress of the doctrine of the Earth's motion between the times of Copernicus and Galileo," *The Companion to the Almanac* (1855), and his article on "The Motion of the Earth," in the *Penny Cyclopedia*. De Morgan gives the date of Digges' treatise as 1594. Although he described the plummet experiment, he did not realize that Digges added the idea of the infinite universe to the Copernican hypothesis, nor did he mention the diagram, which may, of course, have been missing from the copy he saw.

the short treatise on the Copernican system is here reprinted from the copy of the 1576 edition in the Huntington Library. A more detailed analysis of this work, together with a short account of Thomas Digges and the reasons which probably led him to advocate the idea of the infinity of the universe, follows the reprint.

First, however, a brief bibliographical description of the 1576 edition of the *Prognostication euerlastinge* must be given, together with a note as to the later editions and their relation to that of 1576. The title-page of the book reads as follows:

"[floret] A Prognostication euerlastinge of righte / good effecte, fruitfully augmented by the auctour, contayning plaine, / briefe, pleasaūt, chosen rules to iudge the weather by the Sunne, Moone, / Starres, Comets, Rainebow, Thunder, Cloudes, with other extraordinary / tokens, not omitting the Aspects of Planets, vvith a briefe iudgement for euer, / of Plenty, Lacke, Sickenes, Dearth, VVarres &c. opening also ma- / ny naturall causes vvorthy to be knovven. / To these and other now at the last, are ioyned diuers Generall, pleasaunt Tables, / vvith manye compendious Rules, easye to be had in memory, manifolde vvayes / profitable to al men of vnderstanding, Published by Leonard Digges / Gentleman. Lately corrected and augmented by / Thomas Digges his sonne. / [large woodcut, 108.5 x 108.5 mm., of the zodiac man] / Imprinted at London by Thomas Marsh. Anno 1576."

The volume is a quarto, collating: 2 unsigned leaves, A–L^4, [folding diagram, printed on one-half of a quarto sheet and signed M1.] M^2, N–O^4, P^2. The colophon on [P2^r] reads: "Imprinted At / London by Thomas / Marshe. / 1576." The first unsigned leaf has the title on its recto, and on its verso a woodcut of a four-masted warship. On the recto of the second unsigned leaf is a dedication, signed "Tho. Digges," to Sir Edward Fines [Fiennes de Clinton], Earl of Lincoln and Lord High Admiral of England. The previous editions of Leonard Digges' *Prognostication*[1] were all dedicated by the author to Sir Edward Fines, but this is a new dedication by the son, replacing the original one. In it Thomas Digges says that, "Perusinge of late a Booke of my fathers to your Lordship dedicate, by negligence or

[1] The earliest extant edition of this work is dated 1555, but the preface indicates that an earlier edition was issued in 1553. Copies exist of editions dated 1556, 1564, and 1567.

ignorāce of Correcters many wayes depraued: I determined both to amēde the faults & with some additions to amplifie the same, briefly also to touch & discouer certain errours touching matters of Nauigation transferred into our language." Leonard Digges' preface to the reader is printed on the verso of this second unsigned leaf. The text of Leonard Digges' *Prognostication* follows, A1[r] to [L4[r]] — a plan of the universe according to the Ptolemaic system appearing on [A4[r]] and [D4[r]].

The text of Leonard Digges' work ends on [L4[r]] (wrongly numbered, "Fol. 42") with the word "Finis" and the catchword "A Perfit." [L4[v]] is blank. There follows a folding diagram of the universe according to Copernicus and Thomas Digges. From an examination of the Huntington Library copy, this diagram appears to have been printed on the other half of the quarto sheet used for leaves M1 and M2 of the text. The diagram, however, is signed M1., is numbered "Folio. 43," and carries the catchword, "A Per-." Thomas Digges' treatise begins on M1[r] with his preface "To the Reader." This preface ends on M2[v], and is followed, N1[r] to [O3[r]], by the text of *A Perfit Description of the Caelestiall Orbes*. At the end of the volume are two short treatises, the first, [O3[r]] to P1[r], entitled, "A short Discourse touchinge the Variation of the compasse." The second, P1[r] to [P2[r]], is entitled, "Errors in the Arte of Nauigation commonly practized." The pages from M1 to the end of the volume are unnumbered; the headline of the pages containing Thomas Digges' preface is, "To the Reader." The subsequent pages, N1[v] to [P2[r]], have the headline, "The Addition."

The editions of this book printed after 1576 are, with the exception of those of 1585 and 1605, recorded in E. F. Bosanquet's *English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications*. The 1583 edition is described by the same author in the *Library*.[1] Hence, it will suffice here to note that the 1605 edition, like the three immediately preceding it, collates A–O[4] (plus the folding diagram). The book was entirely reprinted for each edition: there was no reissuing of old sheets with a new title-page.

In the reprint which follows, all of that part of the 1576 edition of the *Prognostication euerlastinge* which contains Thomas Digges'

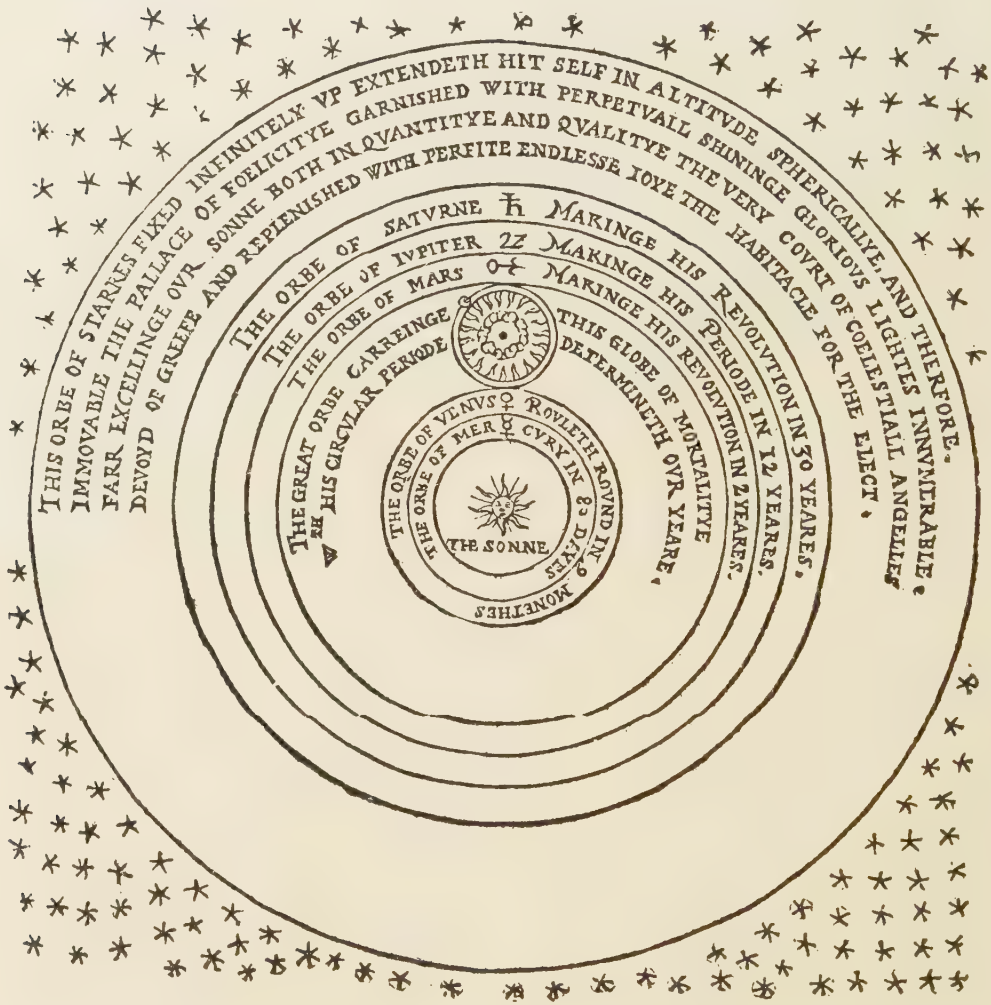
[1] 4th Ser., VIII (1928), 474.

treatise on the Copernican system has been faithfully reproduced from the copy in the Huntington Library. As an aid to modern readers, however, certain minor typographical changes have been made. Although the preface is printed in italic type as in the original edition, roman type has been used, in reprinting the text of the treatise itself, instead of the black letter of the original. Likewise, the ligatures[1] and the old-style long "ſ" have not been reproduced, and, in the Latin quotations, the sixteenth-century contractions for the conjunctive particle, "que," have been silently expanded. Where the old astronomical symbols for the planets have been used in the original text, the proper names of the planets have been inserted and this fact noted by an asterisk. The folding diagram of the universe according to Copernicus and Thomas Digges is reproduced in reduced facsimile, about four-fifths the original size. The diagram actually measures 160 x 160 mm. (210 x 160 mm., if the headline and the catchword are included).

[1] Except æ and œ.

A perfit deſcription of the Cæleſtiall Orbes,

according to the moſt auncient doctrine of the Pythagoreans. &c.



M. I. A PER-

To the Reader. M 1r

Hauing of late (gentle Reader) corrected and reformed sondry faultes that by negligēce in printing haue crept into my fathers Generall Prognostication: *Amonge other thinges I founde a description or Modill of the world and situation of Spheres Cœlestiall and Elemētare according to the doctrine of* Ptolome, *whereunto all Vniuersities (ledde therto chiefly by the auctority of* Aristotle) *sithens haue consented. But in this our age one rare witte (seing the continuall errors that from time to time more & more haue bin discouered, besides the infinite absurdities in their Theorickes, which they haue bin forced to admit that woulde not confesse any mobilitie in the ball of the earth) hath by long studie, painfull practise, and rare inuention deliuered a new Theorick or model of the world, shewing that the Earth resteth not in the Center of the whole world, but onely in the Center of this our mortall world or Globe of Elementes which enuironed and enclosed in the Moones Orbe, and together with the whole Globe of mortalitie is caried yearely rounde aboute the Sunne, which like a king in the middest of all raigneth and geeueth lawes of motion to y^e^ rest, sphærically dispearsing his glorious beames of light through al this sacred Cœlestiall Temple. And the earth it selfe to be one of the Planets hauing his peculiar & strayinge courses tourning euerye 24. houres rounde vpon his owne Center whereby the Sun * and great Globe of fixed starres seeme to sway about and tourne, albeit in deede they remaine fixed. So many wayes is the sense of mortall men abused, but reason and deepe discourse of witte hauing opened these things to* Copernicus, *& the same being with demōstrations Mathematicall most apparantly by him to the world deliuered. I thought it conuenient together with the olde Theorick also to publish this, to the ende such noble English minds (as delight to reache aboue the baser sort of men) might not be altogether defrauded of so noble a part of Philosophy. And to the ende it might manifestly appeare that* Copernicus *mente not as some haue fondly excused him to deliuer these grounds of the Earthes mobility onely as Mathematicall principles, fayned & not as Philosophicall truly auer- | red. I haue also from him* M 1v *deliuered both the Philosophicall reasons by* Aristotle *and others produced to maintaine the Earthes stability, and also their solutions and insuffi-*

* Astronomical symbol.

ciency, wherein I cannot a litle commende the modestie of that graue Philosopher Aristotle, *who seing (no doubt) the insufficiency of his owne reasons in seeking to confute the Earthes motion, vseth these words.* De his explicatum est ea qua potuimus facultate *howbeit his disciples haue not with like sobriety maintayned the same. Thus muche for my owne parte in this case I will onely say. There is no doubte but of a true grounde truer effects may be produced then of principles that are false, and of true principles falshod or absurditie cannot be inferred. If therefore the Earth be situate immoueable in the Center of the worlde, why finde we not Theorickes vppon that grounde to produce effects as true and certaine as these of* Copernicus? *VVhy cast we not away those* Circulos Æquantes *and motions irregulare, seinge our owne Philosopher* Aristotle *him selfe the light of our Vniuersities hath taught vs:* Simplicis corporis simplicem oportet esse motum. *But if contrary it be founde, impossible (the Earthes stability being graunted) but that we must necessarily fall into these absurdities, and cannot by any meane auoyde them. VVhy shall we so much dote in the apparance of our sences, which many wayes may be abused, and not suffer our selues to be directed by the rule of Reason, which the greate GOD hath giuen vs as a Lampe to lighten the darcknes of our vnderstandinge and the perfit guide to leade vs to the golden braunche of Verity amidde the forrest of errours.*

Behold a noble Question to be of the Philosophers and Mathematicians of our Vniuersities argued not with childish Inuectiues but with graue reasons Philosophicall and irreproueable Demonstrations Mathematicall. And let vs not in matters of reason be ledde away with auctority and opinions of men, but with the Stellifyed Poet let vs say.

Non quid Aristoteles vel quiuis dicat eorum
Dicta nihil moror, à vero cum forte recedunt,
Magni sæpi viri mendacia magna loquuntur,
Nec quisquam est adeo sagax, quin sæpius erret.

Ratio dux fida Sophorum. |

M 2r *The Globe of Elemēts enclosed in the Orbe of the Moone I call the Globe of Mortalitie because it is the peculiare Empire of death. For aboue the Moone they feare not his force but as the Christian Poet sayth.*

Omne quod est supra lunam, æternumque bonumque
Esse scias nec triste aliquid Cælestia tangit.
Quicquid verò infra Lunæ conuexa creauit
Omniparens, natura, malum est, mortisque seueras
Perpetitur leges & edaci absumitur æuo.

Againe.

Omne malum est infra lunam, nox atra, procellæ,
Terribiles, frigus, calor, importuna senectus,
Pauperies malesuada, labor, dolor, improbitas, Mors.
Suprà autem lunam, lucis sunt omnia plena,
Nec non letitiæ & pacis, non tempus & error
Et MORS & senium est illic & inutile quicquam.
Fœlix ô nimium fœlix, cui sedibus illis
Tam pulchris & tam iucundis tamque beatis
Viuere concessum est, supremi munere Regis.

And againe.

Singula nonnulli credunt quoque sydera posse
Dici Orbes, TERRAMque appellant sydus opacū
Cui minimus Diuûm præsit &c.

In the midst of this Globe of Mortalitie hāgeth this darck starre or ball of earth and water balanced and sustained in the midst of the thinne ayer onely with that propriety which the wōderfull workman hath giuen at the Creation to the Cēter of this Globe with his magnetical force vehemently to draw and hale vnto it self all such other Elementall thinges as retaine the like nature. This ball euery 24. houres by naturall, vniforme and wonderfull slie & smoth motion rouleth rounde, making with his Periode our naturall daye, whereby it seemes to vs that the huge infinite immoueable Globe should sway and tourne about. |

The Moones Orbe that enuironeth and conteyneth this darcke starre M 2v
and the other mortall, chaungeable, corruptible Elements & Elementare† *things is also turned round euery 29. dayes 31. minuts 50. seconds, 8. thirds, 9. fourths, and 20. fiftes, and this Periode may most aptly be*

† Misprinted *Elementate* in text.

called the Moneth. The rest of the Planets motions appeere by the Picture and shal more largely be hereafter spoken of.

HEREIN good Reader, I haue waded farder then the vulgar sorte Demōstratiuè & Practicè, *& God sparing life I meane though not as a Iudge to decide, yet at the Mathematicall barre in this case to pleade in such sorte, as it shall manifestly appeare to the VVorld whether it be possible vppon the Earthes stabilitie to deliuer any true or probable Theorick, & then referre the pronouncing of sentence to the graue Senate of indifferent discreete Mathematicall Readers.*

Farewell and respect my trauaile as thou shalt see them tende to the aduauncement of truth and discoueringe the Monstrous lothsome shape of errour.|

A PERFIT DESCRIPTION OF THE CÆLESTIALL Orbes according to the most aunciente doctrine of the *PYTHAGOREANS, latelye reuiued by COPERNICVS and by Geometricall Demonstrations approued.*

N 1r

Althoughe in this most excellent and dyffycile parte of Philosophye in all times haue bin sondry opiniōs touchīg the situation and mouing of the bodies Celestiall, yet in certaine principles all Philosophers of any accompte, of al ages haue agreed and cōsented. First that the Orbe of the fixed starres is of al other the moste high, the fardest distante, and comprehendeth all the other spheres of wandringe starres. And of these strayinge bodyes called *Planets* the old philosophers thought it a good grounde in reason y^t^ the nighest to the center shoulde swyftlyest mooue, because the circle was least and thereby the sooner ouerpassed and the farder distant the more slowelye. Therefore as the Moone beinge swyftest in course is founde also by measure nyghest, so haue all agreed y^t^ the Orbe of Saturn * being in moouinge the slowest of al y^e^ Planets, is also the highest: Jupiter * the next, and then Mars,* but of Venus * & Mercury * ther hath bene great controuersie, because they stray not euery way from the Sūne as the rest doo. And therefore some haue placed them aboue the Sūne as *Plato* in his *Timæo*: others beneath, as *Ptolomy* and the greater part of them y^t^ folowed him. *Alpetragius* maketh Venus * aboue the Sunne and Mercury * beneath, and sūdry reasons haue bene of al sides alledged in defence of their opinions. They that folowe *Plato* (supposinge that all starres should haue obscure & darcke bodyes shyninge with borrowed light like the Mone) haue alledged that yf those Planets were lower then the Sun, then should they sometyme obscure some | part of the body of the Sunne, and also shyne not with N 1v a lyght circulare but segmentary and that varyable as in the Moone: Which when they see by experience at no time to happen, they conclude with *Plato*. On the cōtrary part sutch as will maynteyn them beneath, frame a likelyhoode by reason of the lardge space betwene the Orbes of Sun * & Moon.* For the greatest distance of the Moon * is but .64.1/2 semidiameters of the Earth & to the nighest of the

* Astronomical symbol.

Sunne are .1160. so that there remayneth betwene y^e^ Moon * and the Sun * .1095. semidiameters of the earth. And therfore y^t^ so hudge a space should not remayne emptie, there they situate the Orbes of Mercury * and Venus.* And by the dystance of their *Absides* whereby they serche the thicknes of their Orbes they find that they of all the rest best aūswere that situation, so as the lowest of *Mercuries* Orbe may reache downe almost to the highest of the Moones, & the toppe of Mercury * to the inferiour part of Venus * sphere, which with his *Absis* should reach almost vnto the Sunne. For betwene the *Absides* of Mercury * by their *Theoricks* they supputate .177. semidiameters of the earth and then the crassitude of Venus * Orbe beinge .910. semidiameters doth very nyghe supplye and fill the residue. They therefore will not confesse that these Planets haue any obscuritye in their bodyes lyke the Moone, but that either with their owne proper light or els beinge thoroughly persed with solare beames they shine and shewe *Circulare*. And hauinge a strayinge course of latitude they seldom passe betwene the Sunne and vs, or yf they should their bodyes beinge so small coulde scarcelye hyde the hundred parte of the Sunne, and so small a spot in so noble a light could hardly bee discerned. And yet *Auerrois* in his Paraphrasis on *Ptolomey* affyrmeth that he sawe a litle spot in the Sūne at sutch time as by *Calculation* he had forecast a corporall Coniunction. But howe weake this their reason is, it maye soone appeare if wee consider howe from the earth to the lowest of the Mones Orbe there is .38. semidiameters of the earth or by the truer computation accordinge to *Copernicus* .52. and yet in all y^t^ so hudge a space we know nothinge but the aire or fiery Orbe if any sutch be. Againe the Diameter of the circle whereby Venus * should be caried nighe .45. grades distant from the Sunne, must neades be 6. tymes
N 2^r^ greater at the least then the distance of that circles lo- | weste parte from the Earth then yf that whole circle comprehended within the Orbe of Venus * should be tourned about the earth (as neades it must) if we wil not attribute to the earth any motiō we may easily consider what rule in the heauens so vaste & huge an Epicicle, conteyninge a space so many times greater then the earth aire & Orbes of y^e^ Mone and Mercury * also, will make, especially being tourned round about y^e^ earth. Againe y^t^ reason of *Ptolomey* that the Sun * must neades

* Astronomical symbol.

bee placed in the middest of those Planets that wander from him at liberty and those y^{t} are as it were cōbined to him, is proved sensles by y^{e} motiō of the Mone, whom we see no lesse to stray from the Sun then any of those other three superiour Planets But yf they wyll neades haue these two Planets Orbes within an Orbe of the Sūne, what reason can they geue why they should not depart from y^{e} Sunne at lardge, as the other Planets dooe, consideringe the increase of swiftnes in their motion must accōpany the inferior situatiō, or els y^{e} whole order of *Theoricks* should be disturbed. Yt is therefore euydent that eyther there muste be some other Centre whereunto the order of these Orbes should be referred, or els no reason in their order nor cause apparāt why we should rather to Saturn * then to Jupiter * or any of the rest attribute the higher or remoter Orbe. And therfore seemeth it worthy of consideratiō that *Martianus Capella* wrote in hys *Encyclopedia* and certayne other latines held, affyrminge that Venus * and Mercury * dooe runne about the Sunne in their spheres peculiare, & therefore coulde not strey farther from the Sun * then the capacity of their Orbes would geue them leaue, because they encōpasse not the Earth as the others dooe, but haue their *Absides* after an other māner conuersed, what other thinge would they heareby signify but y^{t} the Orbes of these Planets should enuiron the Sunne as their Center. So may the sphere of Mercury * beinge not of haulfe the amplitude of Venus * Orbe, be well situate within y^{e} same. And if in like sorte we situate the Orbs of Saturn * Jupiter * and Mars * referringe them as it were to the same Center, so as theyr capacitye bee sutch as they containe and circulate also the earth, happely we shal not erre, as by euydente Demonstracions in the residue of *Copernicus Reuolutions* is demonstrate. For it is apparante that these Planets nigh the Sunne are alwayes least, and fardest distant | and opposite are mutch greater in N 2^{v} sight & nigher to vs, wherby it cannot be but the centre of them is rather to the Sun * then to y^{e} earth to be referred: as in the Orbes of Venus * and Mercury * also. But yf all these to the Sunne as a centre in this manner bee referred, then must there neades betwene the conuex Orbe of Venus * and the concaue of Mars * an hudge space be left wherein the earth & Elementare frame enclosed with the Lunare Orbe of duty must be situate. For from the earth the Moone may not

* Astronomical symbol.

be farre remooued, beynge wythout controuersye of all other nyghest in place and nature to it: especially cōsideryng betwene the same Orbes of Venus * and Mars * there is roome sufficient. Therefore neade we not to be ashamed to confesse this whole globe of Elemēts enclosed with the Moones sphere together wyth the earth as the Centre of the same to be by this great Orbe together with the other Planets about the Sun tourned makinge by hys reuolution oure yeare. And what soeuer seeme to vs to proceede by the mouinge of the Sunne, the same to proceede in deede by the reuolution of the earth, the Sunne stille remayninge fixed & immoueable in the middest. And the distance of the earth frō the Sunne to be sutch as being compared with the other Planets maketh euidente alterations and diuersity of Aspects, but yf it be referred to the Orbe of starres fixed, then hath it no proportion sensible, but as a poinct or a Center to a circumferēce, which I hould farre more reasonable to be graūted, then to fal into sutche an infinyte multitude of absurde ymaginations, as they were fayne to admit that will neades wilfully maynteine the earthes stabilitye in the Centre of the wrold. But rather herein to direct our selues by that wysedome we see in al gods naturall worckes, where we may behould one thing rather endued with many vertues and effects, then anye superfluous or vnnecessarye part admitted. And all these thinges althoughe thei seeme hard straūge & incredible, yet to any reasonable man y^{t} hath his vnderstandinge ripened with Mathematicall demōstration, *Copernicus* in hys Reuolutions accordinge to hys promise hath made them more euident and cleare then y^{e} Sun beames. These groundes therefore admitted which no man resonably can impugne, that the greater orbe requireth the longer tyme to runne his *Periode*: The orderly and most beutiful frame of the Heauens doeth ensue. |

N 3^{r} The first and highest of all is the immoueable sphere of fixed starres conteininge it self and all the Rest, and therefore fyxed: as the place vniuersal of Rest, whereunto the motions and positions of all inferiour spheres are to be compared. For albeit sundry Astrologians findinge alteration in the declination and Longitude of starres, haue thought that the same also shoulde haue his motion peculiare: Yet *Copernicus* by the motions of the earth salueth al, and vtterly cutteth of the ninth

* Astronomical symbol.

and tenth spheres, whyche contrarye to all sence the maynteyners of the earthes stability haue bin compelled to imagine.

The first of the moueable Orbes is that of Saturn,* whiche beinge of all other next vnto that infinite Orbe immoueable garnished with lights innumerable is also in his course most slow, & once only in thirty yeares passeth his *Periode*.

The second is Jupiter,* who in .12. yeares perfourmeth his circuit.

Mars in .2. yeares runneth his circulare race.

Then followeth the great Orbe wherein the globe of mortalitye inclosed in the Moones Orbe as an *Epicicle* and holdynge the earth as a Centre by his owne waight restinge alway permanente, in the middest of the ayre is caryed rounde once in a yeare.

In the fift place is Venus * makinge her reuolution in .9. moneths.

In the .6. is Mercury * who passeth his circate in .80. dayes

In the myddest of all is the Sunne.

For in so stately a temple as this who woulde desyre to set hys lampe in any other better or more conuenient place then thys, from whence vniformely it might dystribute light to al, for not vnfitly it is of some called the lampe or lighte of the worlde, of others the mynde, of others the Ruler of the worlde.

Ad cuius numeros & dij moueantur & Orbes
Accipiant leges præscriptaque fædera seruent.

Trismegistus calleth hym the visible god. Thus doth the Sun like a king sitting in his thrōe gouern his courts of inferi- | our powers: N3v
Neither is ye Earthe defrauded of the seruice of ye Moone, but as *Aristotle* saith of all other the Moone with the earth hath nighest alliance, so heere are they matched accordingely.

In this fourme of Frame may we behould sutch a wonderful *Symetry* of motions and situations, as in no other can bee proponed: The times whereby we the Inhabitauntes of the earth are directed, are constituted by the reuolutions of the earth, ye circulation of her Centre causeth the yeare, the conuersion of her circumference maketh the naturall day, and the reuolutiō of the Moon* produceth the monethe. By the onelye viewe of thys *Theoricke* the cause & reason is apparante why in Jupiter* the progressions and *Retrogradations* are greater then in Saturn,* and

* Astronomical symbol.

lesse then in Mars,* why also in Venus * they are more then in Mercury.* And why sutch chandges from *Direct* to *Retrograde Stationarie. &c.* happeneth notwithstandinge more rifely in Saturn * then in Jupiter * & yet more rarely in Mars,* why in Venus * not so cōmonly as in Mercury.* Also whye Saturn * Jupiter * and Mars * are nigher the earth in their *Acronicall* then in their *Cosmicall* or *Heliacall* rysinge. Especially Mars * who rising at the Sunne set, sheweth in his ruddy fiery coollour equall in quantity with *Iupiter*, and contrarywise setting little after the Sunne, is scarcely to be discerned from a Starre of the seconde light. All whiche alterations apparantlye folowe vppon the Earthes motion. And that none of these do happen in the fixed starres, yt playnly argueth their huge dystance and inmēsurable Altitude, in respect whereof this great Orbe wherein the earth is carryed is but a poyncte, and vtterly without sensible proportion beinge compared to that heauen. For as it is in perspectiue demonstrate, Euery quantity hath a certaine proportionable distance whereunto yt may be discerned, and beyond the same it may not be seene, this distance therefore of that inmoueable heauen is so exceadinge great, that the whole *Orbis magnus* vanisheth awaye, yf it be conferred to that heauen.

Heerein can wee neuer sufficiently admire thys wonderfull & incomprehensible huge frame of goddes woorke proponed to our senses, seinge fyrst thys baull of y^e^ earth wherein we moue, to the common sorte seemeth greate, and yet in‡ respecte of the Moones Orbe is very
N 4^r^ small, but compared with *Orbis mag-* | *nus* wherein it is caried, it scarcely retayneth any sensible proportion, so merueilously is that Orbe of Annuall motion greater then this litle darcke starre wherein we liue. But that *Orbis magnus* beinge as is before declared but as a poynct in respect of the immēsity of that immoueable heauen, we may easily consider what litle portion of gods frame, our Elementare corruptible worlde is, but neuer sufficiently be able to admire the immensity of the Rest. Especially of that fixed Orbe garnished with lightes innumerable and reachinge vp in *Sphæricall altitude* without ende. Of whiche lightes Celestiall it is to bee thoughte that we onely behoulde sutch as are in the inferioure partes of the same Orbe, and

* Astronomical symbol.

‡ Text reads *andte y in* — obviously a printer's error.

as they are hygher, so seeme they of lesse and lesser quantity, euen tyll our sighte beinge not able farder to reache or conceyue, the greatest part rest by reason of their wonderfull distance inuisible vnto vs. And this may wel be thought of vs to be the gloriouse court of y^e^ great god, whose vnsercheable worcks inuisible we may partly by these his visible cōiecture, to whose infinit power and maiesty such an infinit place surmountinge all other both in quantity and quality only is conueniente. But because the world hath so longe a tyme bin carryed with an opinion of the earths stabilitye, as the contrary cannot but be nowe very imperswasible, I haue thought good out of *Copernicus* also to geue a taste of the reasons philosophicall alledged for the earthes stabilitye, and their solutions, that sutch as are not able with *Geometricall* eyes to beehoulde the secrete perfection of *Copernicus Theoricke*, maye yet by these familiar, naturall reasons be induced to serche farther, and not rashly to condempne for phantasticall, so auncient doctrine reuiued, and by *Copernicus* so demonstratiuely approued.

VVhat reasons moued Aristotle and others that folovved him to thincke the earth to rest immoueable as a Centre to the vvhole vvorlde.

The most effectuall reasons that they produce to proue the earthes stability in the middle or lowest part of the world, is | that of Grauitye N 4^v^
and Leuitye. For of all other the Elemente of the earth say they is most heauy, and all ponderous thinges are carryed vnto it, stryuinge as it were to sway euen downe to the inmoste parte thereof. For the earth beinge rounde into the which all waighty thinges on euery side fall, makinge ryghte angles on the superficies, muste neades if they were not stayde on the superficies passe to the Center, seinge euery right line y^t^ falleth perpendicularly vpon the *Horizon* in that place where it toucheth the earth muste neades passe by the Centre. And those thinges that are carried towarde that *Medium*, it is likely that there also they woulde reste. So mutche therefore, the rather shall the Earth rest in the middle, and (receyuinge all thinges into yt selfe that fall) by hys owne wayghte shall be moste immoueable: Agayne they seeke to proue it by reason of motion and his nature, for of one and the same a simple body the motion must also be simple saith *Aristotle*.

Of simple motions there are two kyndes right and circulare, Right are either vp or downe: so that euery simple motion is eyther downewarde towarde the Center, or vpwarde from the Center, or circular about the Centre. Nowe vnto the earth and water in respect of their waight the motion downewarde is conuenient to seeke the Center. To ayre and fyer in regarde of their lightnes, vpwarde and from the Center. So is it meete to these elementes to attribute the right or streyghte motion, and to the heauens only it is proper circularly aboute this meane or Center to be turned rownde. Thus much *Aristotle*. Yf therefore saith *Ptolomy* of *Alexandria* the earth should turne but only by y^e^ dayly motion, thinges quite contrary to these should happen. For his motion should be most swift and violent that in .24. howres should let passe the whole circuite of the earth, and those things whiche by sodaine toorninge are stirred, are altogether vnmeete to collecte, but rather to disperse thinges vnited, onelesse they shoulde by some firme fasteninge be kept toogether. And longe ere this the Earthe beinge dissolued in peeces should haue been scattered through y^e^ heauens, which were a mockery to thincke of, and mutch more beastes and all other waights that are loose could not remayne vnshaken. And also thinges fallinge should not light on the places perpendiculare vnder theym, neyther | shoulde they fall directly thereto, the same
O 1^r^ beinge violentlye in the meane carryed awaye. Cloudes also and other thynges hanginge in the ayre shoulde alwayes seeme to vs to bee carried towarde the West.

The Solution of these Reasons with their insufficiencye.

These are y^e^ causes and sutch other wherwith they approue y^e^ Earthe to reste in the middle of the worlde and that out of all question: But hee that will mainteyne the Earthes mobility may say that this motion is not violent but naturall. And these thinges whyche are naturally mooued haue effectes contrary to sutch as are violentlye carried. For sutche motions wherein force and vyolence is vsed, muste needes bee dissolued and cannot be of longe continuance, but those which by nature are caused, remayne stil in their perfit estate and are conserued and kepte in their moste excellent constitution. Without cause therefore did *Ptolomey* feare least the Earth and all earthelye thynges

shoulde bee torne in peeces by thys reuolution of the Earthe caused by the woorkinge of nature, whose operations are farre different from those of Arte or sutche as humayne intelligence may reache vnto. But whye shoulde hee not mutch more thincke and misdought the same of the worlde, whose motion muste of necessity be so mutche more swift and vehemente then this of the Earth, as the Heauen is greater then y^e^ Earth. Is therefore the Heauen made so huyge in quantitye that yt might wyth vnspeakeable vehemencye of motion bee seuered from the Centre, least happily restinge it should fall, as some Philosophers haue affirmed: Surelye yf this reason shoulde take place, the Magnitude of the Heauen shoulde infinitely extende. For the more this motion shoulde violentlye bee carryed higher, the greater should the swiftnes be, by reason of the increasing of the circumferēce which must of necessity in 24. houers bee paste ouer, and in lyke maner by increase of the motion the Magnitude muste also necessarilye bee augmented. Thus shoulde the swiftnes increase the Magnitude and the Magnitude the swiftnes infinitely: But according to that grounde of | nature O 1^v^ whatsoeuer is infinite canne neuer be passed ouer. The Heauen therefore of necessity must stande and rest fixed. But say they without the Heauen there is no body, no place, no emptynes, no not any thinge at all whether heauen should or could farther extende. But this surelye is verye straunge that nothinge shoulde haue sutche efficiente power to restrayne some thinge the same hauinge a very essence and beinge. Yet yf wee would thus confesse that the Heauen were indeede infinite vpwarde, and onely fynyte downewarde in respecte of his spherical concauitye, Mutch more perhappes might that sayinge be verified, that without the Heauen is nothinge, seeinge euerye thinge in respect of the infinitenes thereof had place sufficient within y^e^ same. But then must it of necessity remaine immoueable. For the cheefest reason that hath mooued some to thincke the Heauen limited was Motion, whiche they thoughte without controuersie to bee in deede in it. But whether the worlde haue his boundes or bee in deede infinite and without boundes, let vs leaue that to be discussed of Philosophers, sure we are y^t^ the Earthe is not infinite but hath a circumference lymitted, seinge therefore all Philosophers consent that lymitted bodyes maye haue Motion, and infinyte cannot haue anye. Whye dooe we yet stagger to confesse motion in the Earth beinge most agreeable to hys forme and

nature, whose boundes also and circumference wee knowe, rather then to imagyne that the whole world should sway and turne, whose ende we know not, ne possibly can of any mortall man be knowne. And therefore the true Motion in deede to be in the Earth, and the apparāce only in the Heauen: And that these apparances are no otherwise then yf the *Virgilian Æneas* shoulde say.

Prouehimur portu, terræque vrbesque recedunt

For a shippe carryed in a smoothe Sea with sutch tranquility dooth passe away, that al thinges on the shores and the Seas to the saylers seeme to mooue and themselues onely quietly to rest with all sutche thinges as are aboorde them, so surely may it bee in the Earth whose
O 2r Motion beinge naturall and not for- | cible of all other is most vniforme and vnperceaueable, whereby too vs that sayle therein the whole worlde maye seeme too roull about. But what shall wee then saye of Cloudes and other thinges hanginge or restinge in the ayre or tendinge vpward, but that not only the Earth and Sea makinge one globe but also no small part of the ayre is likewyse circularly carried and in like sort all sutche thinges as are deriued from them or haue any maner of aliance with them. Either for that the lower Region of the ayre beinge mixte with Earthlye and watrye vapours folowe the same nature of the Earth. Eyther that it be gayned and gotten from the Earth by reason of *Vicinity* or *Contiguity*. Whiche if any man merueyle at, let him consider howe the olde Philosophers did yeelde the same reason for the reuolution of the highest Region of the ayre, wherein we may sometime behoulde Comets carryed circularly no otherwise then the bodies Celestial seeme to bee, and yet hath that Region of the ayre lesse conuenience with the Orbes Celestiall, then this lower part with the earthe, But we affyrme that parte of the aire in respect of his great distance to be destitut of this Motion *Terrestriall*, and that this part of the ayre that is next to y^e^ Earthe dooth appeare moste still and quiet by reason of hys vniforme naturall accompanyinge of the Earth, and lykewyse thinges that hange therein, onelesse by windes or other violent accident they be tossed to and fro. For the wynde in the ayre, is nothinge els but as the waue in the Sea: And of thinges ascēdinge and descendinge in respect of the worlde we must confesse them to

haue a mixt motion of right & circulare, albeit it seeme to vs right & streight, No otherwise then if in a shippe vnder sayle a man should softly let a plūmet downe from the toppe alonge by the maste euen to the decke: This plummet passing alwayes by the streight maste, seemeth also too fall in a righte line, but beinge by discours of reason wayed his Motion is found mixt of right and circulare. For sutch thinges as naturally fall douneward beinge of earthly nature there is no doubt but as partes they retayne the nature of the whole. No otherwise is it of these things that by fiery force are carried vpward. For the earthly fyer is cheefly noorished wyth earthly matter, and flame is defined to be nought els but a burninge fume or | smoke and the O 2v propertye of fyer is to extende the subiect whereunto it entereth, the whiche it doth with so greate violence as by no meanes or engines it canne be constrayned but that with breache of bandes it will perfourme his nature. This motion extensiue is from the Centre to the circumference, so that if any earthly part be fiered, it is carryed violently vpward. Therefore whereas they say that of simple bodyes the motion is altogether simple, of the circulare it is cheefely verified, so longe as the simple bodye remayneth in his naturall place and perfit vnity of composition, for in the same place there can bee no other motion but circulare, whiche remayninge wholye in it selfe is most like to rest and immobility. But right or streight motion only happen to those thinges that stray and wander or by anye meanes are thrust out of their natural place. But nothing can bee more Repugnaunte to the fourme and Ordinance of the world, then that thinges, naturally should be out of their naturall place. This kinde of motion therefore that is by right line is only accident to those things that are not in their right state or perfection naturall, while partes are disioyned from their whole bodie, and couet to retourne to the vnity thereof againe. Neither do these thinges which are carryed vpwarde or downwarde besides this circular mouinge make anye simple, vniforme, or equall motion, for with their leuity or ponderositye of their body they cannot be tempered but alwaies as they fall (beginninge slowly) they increase their motion, and the farder y^{e} more swiftly, wheras contrariwise this our earthly fier (for other wee cannot see) we may behould as it is carryed vpwarde to vanish and decay as it were confessinge the cause of violence to proceede only from his matter *Terrestriall.* The circu-

lare motion alwaye contynueth vnyforme and equall by reason of his cause whiche is indeficient and alway continuinge. But the other hasteneth to ende and to attayne that place where they leaue lenger to be heuye or lighte, and hauinge attayned that place, theyr motion ceaseth. Seinge therefore this circulare motion is proper to the whole as streighte is only vnto partes, we may say that circulare doth rest with streighte as *Animall cum Aegro.* And whereas *Aristotle* hath dystrybuted *Simplicem motum* into these thre kyndes *A medio. ad*
O 3r *medium*, | and *Circa medium*, it must be onely in reason and imagination, as wee likwise seuer in consideration Geometricall a poincte, a line, and a superficies, whereas in deede neither can stand without other, ne any of them without a bodye.

Heereto wee may adioyne that the condition of immobilitye is more noble and diuine then y^t^ of chandge, alteration, or instabilitye, & therefore more agreeable to Heauen then to this Earth where al thinges are subiect to continual mutability. And seeinge by euident proofe of Geometricall mensuration wee finde that the Planets are sometimes nigher to vs and sometimes more remote, and that therefore euen the mainteyners of the Earthes stability are enforced to confesse that the Earth is not their Orbes Centre, this motion *Circa medium* must in more generall sort bee taken and that it maie bee vnderstande that euery Orbe hath his peculiare *Medium* and Centre, in regarde whereof this simple and vniforme motion is to bee considered. Seinge therefore that these Orbes haue seuerall Centres, it may be doughted whether the Centre of this earthly Grauity be also the Centre of the worlde. For Grauity is nothinge els but a certaine procliuitye or naturall couetinge of partes to be coupled with the whole, whiche by diuine prouidence of the Creator of al is giuen & impressed into the parts, y^t^ they should restore themselues into their vnity and integritie concurringe in sphericall fourme, which kinde of propriety or affection it is likelye also that the Moone and other glorious bodyes wante not to knit & combine their partes together, and to mainteyne them in their round shape, which bodies notwithstandinge are by sundrye motions, sundrye wayes conueighed. Thus as it is apparant by these natural reasons y^t^ the mobility of the Earth is more probable and likelye then the stabilitye. So if it bee Mathematically considered and wyth Geometricall Mensurations euery part of euery

Theoricke examined: the discreet Student shall fynde that *Copernicus* not without greate reason did propone this grounde of the Earthes Mobility.

This treatise on the Copernican system of the universe was clearly intended by Digges as a sort of stop-gap until he could publish a far more important work he was writing. He explains at the beginning of his preface that, while preparing this new edition of his father's *Prognostication*, he noticed its plan of the universe was according to the old Ptolemaic system, and he had been unwilling to let that be reprinted without inserting also a diagram and description of the universe according to the new Copernican theory, "to the ende such noble English minds (as delight to reache aboue the baser sort of men) might not be altogether defrauded of so noble a part of Philosophy." In his *An Arithmeticall Militare Treatise, named Stratioticos* (1579) Digges lists the "Bookes Begon by the Author, heereafter to be published," and among them is "*Commentaries* vpon the *Reuolutions* of *Copernicus*, by euidente Demonstrations grounded vpon late *Obseruations*, to ratifye and confirme hys *Theorikes* and *Hypothesis*, wherein also Demonstratiuelie shall be discussed, whether it bee possible vpon the vulgare *Thesis* of the Earthes *Stabilitie*, to delyuer any true *Theorike* voyde of such irregular Motions, and other absurdities, as repugne the whole *Principles* of *Philosophie* naturall, and apparant groundes of common *Reason*." [1]

Digges consistently made a practice of printing summaries of the most important features of his unfinished works in the form of short treatises annexed to new editions of his other books.[2] We are therefore fully justified in assuming that this treatise of 1576 on the Copernican system embodies ideas that Digges planned to develop more fully in his commentary on Copernicus.

We may justly regret that Digges was forced to lay aside his astronomical studies and never completed his "Commentaries vpon the Reuolutions of Copernicus," for that work might very well have an-

[1] Sig. [a4r].

[2] Parts of other unfinished works mentioned by Digges in the 1579 edition of the *Stratioticos* were printed at the end of that book, at the end of his Copernican treatise of 1576, in the *Stratioticos*, 2d ed. (1590), and in the *Pantometria*, 2d ed. (1591).

ticipated by a quarter of a century several of the discoveries made by Kepler and Galileo. Such high expectations for this work are not unwarranted, for Digges' book on the new star that appeared in Cassiopeia in 1572, which he published in 1573 under the title of *Alae seu Scalae Mathematicae*, was, next to Tycho Brahe's, the ablest work on that phenomenon.

Although the book which would have explained in detail all of Digges' astronomical ideas and investigations was never published, it is still possible to reconstruct his cosmological theories with a reasonable degree of probability, and also to surmise the reasons which led him to extend the Copernican system to include the conception of the infinity of the universe. The materials for such a reconstruction are to be found through a careful analysis of the short treatise here reprinted, together with a study of Digges' other works and of his achievements as an astronomer.

Turning first, therefore, to the detailed study of this treatise on the Copernican system, the first thing that commands our attention is the folding diagram of the universe. This diagram probably made an even stronger impression upon Digges' contemporaries than it does on us, for it is apparently the earliest plan of the universe according to the heliocentric system to be printed in an English book. This plan, otherwise essentially the same as that printed by Copernicus in the *De revolutionibus*, differs from the latter in one extremely important feature. Instead of placing the stars around the circumference of the circle representing the eighth sphere, it places them at varying distances outside this circle, and has a legend asserting that these stars are far larger than our sun and are scattered throughout infinite space. No earlier printed book is known which contains a plan portraying the Copernican universe as infinite and the stars at varying distances. Twenty-four years later, in 1600, William Gilbert, in his *De Magnete*,[1] asserted that the stars were at varying distances, and Gilbert's other work, not published until 1651, the *De Mundo nostro Sublunari Philosophia Nova*,[2] has on page 202 a diagram somewhat similar to that of Digges, placing the stars at varying distances, with the legend, "Stellae extra

[1] P. 215.

[2] The authors wish to thank Dr. Herbert M. Evans, of the University of California at Berkeley, for the use of his copy of this book.

orbem Virtutis Solis sive formam effusam non moventur à Sole, sed fixae nobis apparent." [1] In 1638 John Wilkins inserted, opposite the title-page to his *The Discovery of a World in the Moone*, a diagram with the stars at varying distances. In the 1640 edition of that work, a similar diagram forms the upper portion of the engraved title-page. In the astronomical works printed on the Continent between 1576 and the middle of the seventeenth century, several plans of the universe are to be found, but none of these portrays the heliocentric system of Copernicus with the fixed stars definitely placed at infinite and varying distances. Some, rightly interpreting Copernicus' ideas, assert that the distance between the orb of Saturn and the sphere of the fixed stars is so great that it appears to be infinite. Others, following Tycho, place the stars at slightly varying distances in the narrow space between two concentric spheres.[2] No astronomer outside England, however, appears to have published a plan of the universe which contains the essential feature of Digges' diagram.[3]

Leaving for later consideration the very significant preface to this work, we find that the treatise itself is chiefly a translation of the important parts of Book I of the *De revolutionibus*, but with certain striking additions by Digges himself asserting his idea of an infinite universe. Digges does not follow the arrangement adopted by Copernicus, however, but starts with the translation of the tenth chapter — the very heart of the work — in which Copernicus described the order of the

[1] This diagram, however, does not indicate the orbits of the sun or the earth, so that it is not altogether clear whether Gilbert means to represent the Copernican or the Tychonic system (or perhaps that of Nicolai Reymers, called Ursus, which resembles Tycho Brahe's, except that Reymers, like Gilbert, admits the rotation of the earth). The ambiguity may well be intentional.

[2] Tycho's diagram appeared first in his *De Mundi Aetherei recentioribus Phaenomenis* (1588). He seems to have regarded the difference between the distances of the nearest and most remote stars as not more than about 1,000 semidiameters of the earth. See: *Progymnasmata* (1602), pp. 481–82 [reprinted in *Opera Omnia*, ed. Dreyer, II, 429–31]. Tycho's rival as the originator of his system, Nicolai Reymers (Ursus), in his *Fundamentum Astronomicum* (1588), Chap. 5, states that it is not possible for mortal reason to say if the stars are at equal or unequal distances, and suggests the idea that the stars may be at incredible or even infinite distances and infinite in number, but he does not develop the idea, or embody it in his diagram of the universe.

[3] The rough sketches printed by Kepler in his *Epitome Astronomiae Copernicanae* (1618), Bk. I, Pt. 2 [in *Opera*, ed. Frisch, VI, 136–37], were used solely for the purpose of illustrating his arguments refuting the idea of an infinite universe, which Kepler credits to Bruno.

heavenly bodies in his new system. Digges' method as a translator is the one followed by the best of his contemporaries: the original is not slavishly followed word for word, but freely rendered phrase for phrase into good Elizabethan English. Thus, although the text is at times expanded and at other times contracted, we have a close and accurate translation of Copernicus' meaning and all the steps in his reasoning.

In the description of the orb of Saturn (on N_3 recto) Digges makes his first striking addition, inserting the clause, "whiche beinge of all other next vnto that infinite Orbe immoueable garnished with lights innumerable." Later, at the end of the translation of Chapter 10, he adds a paragraph that is entirely his own, beginning, "Heerein can wee neuer sufficiently admire thys wonderfull & incomprehensible huge frame of goddes woorke proponed to our senses." In this paragraph Digges definitely proclaims the infinity of the universe, and specifically asserts that the stars are innumerable, are located at varying distances, and extend upward in spherical altitude without end. The entire paragraph (*supra*, p. 88) must be read in its context for a full appreciation of the conviction with which Digges proclaims his new idea and his awe and admiration at the vastness of the universe and the infinite power of its Creator.

The section entitled, "What reasons moued Aristotle and others that folowed him to thincke the earth to rest immoueable as a Centre to the whole worlde," is a translation of Book I, Chapter 7, of Copernicus, without any important changes. The next section, "The Solution of these Reasons with their insufficiencye," translates Chapter 8 of the same book. Here Digges renders with great care, and some incidental amplifications, Copernicus' discussion touching the question of the infinity of the universe. The latter, of course, merely brings these ideas into his argument in order to place his Aristotelian opponents on the horns of a dilemma, pointing out the logical consequence of their chief argument against the earth's rotation — that it would fly to pieces through the action of centrifugal force. This argument, says Copernicus, should apply with greater force to the heavenly sphere and lead to the conclusion that the heavens would constantly increase in magnitude until they became infinite. In this case the Aristotelians would be forced by their own physical theories to maintain that the

heavens were motionless, since that which is infinite can have no motion. Having propounded this dilemma to confute his opponents, Copernicus, unlike Digges, left the question "to be discussed of Philosophers."

Digges makes an interesting contribution of his own to Copernicus' refutation of the Aristotelian arguments against the possibility of the earth's motion, by introducing the illustration of a plummet dropped from the top of the mast of a ship in motion. One of the most common objections made by the opponents of the Copernican theory was that, if it were true, an object dropped from the top of a tower would not strike the earth at the tower's base, but at a certain distance to the west, because of the motion of the tower resulting from the earth's rotation. Writers upon the history of science have often wondered that no one attempted to test the truth of this statement by the simple experiment of dropping an object from the mast of a moving ship. This, apparently, is exactly what Digges had done, for he states as an indisputable fact that, in dropping to the deck, the plummet would fall parallel to the mast. That Digges had the habit of testing all such ideas by actual experiments is abundantly proved by his other books on scientific subjects. In the preface to the *Stratioticos* [1] Digges tells us that he spent fifteen weeks at sea in order to verify his mathematical conclusions regarding the errors in navigation. Perhaps the plummet experiment was carried out during this period.

Having finished the translation of Chapter 8 of Copernicus, Digges adds a few sentences, beginning, "Seinge therefore that these Orbes haue seuerall Centres," which give a partial translation of Chapter 9, and this completes his treatise.

Our analysis of this short work on the Copernican system thus reveals that all of the additions Digges inserted in his translation of the *De revolutionibus* and in his diagram of the universe, tended toward one purpose: the extension of the Copernican system to include the conception of an infinite universe. Giordano Bruno has heretofore been regarded as the first person to proclaim the infinity of the universe as a corollary to the Copernican theory, but Bruno's first works dealing with this idea were printed in London in 1584, eight years after this work by Digges first appeared. In the year 1576 Bruno was unknown

[1] Edition of 1579, sig. [A4^{v}].

outside of his monastic order, and was just then beginning the wanderings that were to lead him to fame and martyrdom. There can be no question, therefore, that Digges considerably preceded Bruno in extending the boundaries of the Copernican universe. It would thus be of great interest if we could determine the exact reasons that caused Digges to maintain that the universe was infinite. The treatise itself states his idea clearly enough but gives little indication of the steps by which it was arrived at; his "Commentaries" on Copernicus, which might have done so, was unfortunately never completed and published. Therefore, we must fall back upon inferences based upon what Digges tells us elsewhere. Two of Digges' writings are of particular importance to our inquiry: his preface to this treatise on the Copernican system; and his book of 1573, *Alae seu Scalae Mathematicae*.

Digges' preface to the former treatise begins with the statement of his reasons for inserting this short work in his father's book, and includes the sentences in praise of Copernicus which were quoted by Whewell and others after him. Then comes a most important sentence, in which Digges states that Copernicus "mente not as some haue fondly excused him to deliuer these grounds of the Earthes mobility onely as Mathematicall principles, fayned & not as Philosophicall truly auerred." This shows that Digges was not deceived by the spurious preface which Osiander inserted in the first edition of Copernicus' *De revolutionibus*, and in which it was stated that the new system was put forward merely as a hypothesis, wherefore it need not be regarded as true or even probable, so long as the calculations founded upon it agreed with observations. Because of this false preface many of Copernicus' contemporaries were misled into thinking that he considered his system as nothing more than a useful mathematical device for simplifying astronomical calculations. Even today this mistaken notion is often repeated, although Kepler, on the back of the title-page of his book on Mars, published in 1609, announced the real author of this preface. Digges, however, clearly perceived from the first that the whole of the *De revolutionibus* proclaimed unmistakably that Copernicus believed his new system to be a physical reality. Moreover, Digges himself was convinced that Copernicus was right and that the heliocentric system was the true one.

Digges' attack on the Aristotelians, which follows the sentence vin-

dicating Copernicus, is most interesting. It shows that Digges feels that Aristotle is less to be condemned than his disciples, who are unwilling to concede that any of Aristotle's ideas needed to be revised. At this point Digges introduces four quotations from the *Zodiacus Vitae* (first published about 1531), by Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus, the "Stellifyed Poet." This work was one of the most popular Latin poems of the sixteenth century, rivaling the eclogues of Mantuan. In many schools of the period it was prescribed as a textbook,[1] and countless editions of it were printed both on the Continent and in England. It was translated into English by Barnaby Googe between 1560 and 1565 and several editions of the English version were also issued.

Like most great poems of the Renaissance, the *Zodiacus Vitae* was intended to be a summary of all great learning; thus many philosophic and scientific ideas of the past are introduced and discussed. But Palingenius' chief interest is the proper spiritual application of physical theories, and the ethical, not the scientific, aim everywhere predominates. It is noteworthy that the infallibility of Aristotle is also attacked in several places. It is from these passages that the first of Digges' quotations is taken. Barnaby Googe translates it as follows:

> Whatsoeuer *Aristotle* saith, or any of them all,
> I passe not for: since from the truth they many times doe fall.
>
> For famous men do oftentimes make great and famous lies.
> And often men do misse the truth, though they be neuer so wise.
>
> Reason [is] the faithfull guide of wisemen.[2]

The next two passages from Palingenius quoted by Digges [3] describe the old Aristotelian idea of the distinction between the heavens

[1] See Foster Watson, *The Zodiacus Vitae of Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus: An Old School-Book* (London, 1908), for a full discussion of the nature and influence of this poem.

[2] *Zodiacus Vitae*, Bk. VIII, "Scorpius," ll. 129–30; Bk. XI, "Aquarius," ll. 517–18; Bk. VIII, "Scorpius," l. 137 (part) [in Googe's translation, p. 135, ll. 15–16; p. 216, ll. 4–5; p. 135, l. 21 (part)]. All references to the *Zodiacus Vitae* are taken from the edition printed in London by Thomas Marshe in 1575. Quotations from Googe's translation are taken from the Huntington Library copy of the quarto edition printed in London for Raufe Newberie in 1576, entitled, *The Zodiake of life, written by the excellent and Christian Poet, Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus . . . Translated out of Latine into Englishe, By Barnabie Googe and by him newly recognished.*

[3] *Zodiacus Vitae*, Bk. IX, "Sagittarius," ll. 180–84; Bk. VIII, "Scorpius," ll. 247–55 [Googe, p. 161, ll. 17–20; p. 138, ll. 12–18].

(the region of unchangeable order lying above the moon's sphere) and the space below the moon (the region of unsettled and changeable order occupied by the four elements). In spite of the prominence given to these quotations and the fact that these ideas were retained in his diagram of the universe, there is little doubt that Digges did not accept the rigid distinctions between the realms above and below the moon in their most literal interpretation. His own researches on the new star that appeared in Cassiopeia in 1572, published in his *Alae*, proved that this star was above the moon and therefore that the heavens were not unchanging. These two passages from Palingenius were probably inserted at this point as a concession to the believers in the old cosmology, in order to disarm opposition to the idea presented in the last of the quotations, which states that:

> . . . some haue thought that euery starre a world we well may call,
> The earth they count a darkned starre, whereas the least of all.[1]

Palingenius has only this passing reference to the idea of certain of the early Greek philosophers, particularly Anaximander and Democritus, that every star was a world, and our earth merely one of the stars. Digges, however, seizes upon this passage and not only gives it the most prominent position, but has the word "Terram" printed in large capitals to emphasize the idea. Certainly he intended to suggest to his readers some of the startling implications of the new conception of the universe, and has very cleverly used as his authority a poet everywhere admired for his sound and unimpeachable teaching. The phrase, "sydus opacum," which Palingenius here uses to describe our earth, appealed most strongly to Digges' imagination. Throughout his treatise he often refers to the earth as a "dark star," and finally, in an outburst of poetic feeling that is characteristically Elizabethan, expands the phrase to, "this litle darcke starre wherein we liue."

The *Zodiacus Vitae* devotes considerable attention to astronomy and the nature of the universe, and Palingenius' cosmological ideas are of great interest because of the probability that they had some influence on Thomas Digges, particularly in directing his thought toward the question of the infinity of the universe. There can be no doubt of Digges' familiarity with the poem; not only does he quote from it here

[1] *Zodiacus Vitae*, Bk. VII, "Libra," ll. 497–99 [Googe, p. 118, ll. 27–28].

and in his other works, but Gabriel Harvey tells us that "M. Digges hath the whole Aquarius of Palingenius bie hart: & takes mutch delight to repeate it often." [1] Palingenius' cosmology is one of the best and most typical examples of the Renaissance attempts to construct a system of the universe which should combine the ideas of Christian theology, neo-Platonic mysticism, and the scientific theories of the early Greek philosophers, such as Anaximander, Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus, and Lucretius.

The universe described in *Zodiacus Vitae* is based upon the traditional astronomy, which combined the physical theories of Aristotle with the mathematical calculations of Ptolemy.[2] The earth is definitely placed immovable in the center of the universe, surrounded by the nine spheres which are conceived as material bodies. The fixed stars, however, though definitely pictured as attached to the surface of the eighth sphere, are said to be innumerable and of various sizes, some being too small to be seen. Every part of the universe is inhabited; as one ascends through the successive spheres, one passes through regions where ever more and more perfect beings have their dwelling places. When Palingenius considers what lies beyond the *primum mobile*, he clearly attempts to reconcile the strictly bounded universe of Aristotle and Ptolemy with the conception that the world created by an all-powerful God must be infinite. Therefore, he has the sphere of the *primum mobile* surrounded by infinite space, occupied by no material body but filled only with purest light, and inhabited only by God and the highest order of spirits.

Thomas Digges' conception of an infinite universe is far different from that of Palingenius, for Digges' universe is heliocentric; the finite outer wall of the older cosmologies has been shattered, and the stars, placed at varying distances throughout an infinite space, supply the endless light that in Palingenius seems to be conceived simply as an emanation from the Deity. Nevertheless, the *Zodiacus Vitae* undoubtedly played an influential part, causing Digges to speculate upon

[1] See G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913), p. 161.

[2] Palingenius' astronomical theories are set forth principally in the book entitled "Aquarius," but many important ideas on the subject are in other books, especially "Libra" and "Pisces."

the nature of the outer boundaries of the universe. Furthermore, the poem shows that, several years before Copernicus' *De revolutionibus* was published, the question of the infinity of the universe was an important subject of purely metaphysical speculation. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth than the popular notion that the idea that the universe was infinite was startling and novel to the contemporaries of Digges and Bruno. The infinity of the universe was truly an ever recurring subject of metaphysical discussion throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Copernicus clearly refers to this when he says, "But whether the worlde haue his boundes or bee in deede infinite and without boundes, let vs leaue that to be discussed of Philosophers." It is also noteworthy that the cosmological ideas of Nicholas of Cusa, which are often cited as an anticipation of Copernicus and which greatly influenced Bruno, were the direct outgrowth of his metaphysical speculations on infinity.[1] Cusa's philosophy was a mixture of neo-Platonic and Christian mysticism; his book, *De docta ignorantia*, completed in 1440, has for its theme the inability of the human mind to conceive the absolute, which for Cusa is the same as mathematical infinity. His idea that the universe is infinite, and therefore without center or circumference, led him to maintain that the earth could not be in the center of the world; and, because he believed that motion was natural to all bodies, he asserts that the earth can not be devoid of motion. He fully grasped the conception of the relativity of motion, but he never formulated his ideas into any consistent astronomical system. His most elaborate attempt in this direction is recorded in a note written at the end of one of his books. There, forgetting for the moment his previous theories, he places the world in the center, retains the eight spheres, and assigns a motion of rotation to both the earth and the sphere of the fixed stars.[2]

Further proof of the universal prevalence of metaphysical speculations on the infinity of the universe could be obtained from countless passages in the works of Renaissance philosophers. A single characteristic passage, taken from a work published the same year as Digges'

[1] See J. L. E. Dreyer, *History of the Planetary Systems from Thales to Kepler* (Cambridge, 1906), pp. 282–88; Lynn Thorndike, *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century* (New York, 1929), pp. 133–41.

[2] This note is reprinted in full by Thorndike, *op. cit.*, pp. 296–97.

treatise, will illustrate the point. This work, the *Physica christiana* of Lambert Daneau, printed in Geneva, was translated almost immediately into English by Thomas Twyne and published in 1578 under the title, *The wonderfull woorkmanship of the world*. There, in a dialogue between master and scholar, we read:

> S. They that defend that there bee many worlds of one kinde, what doe they say?
>
> M. This forsooth, that like as wee inhabite this world, so others inhabite other worldes, in whiche is also an other earth like vnto ours, and other heauens, and another Sunne, and a Moone, and all other things in them as in ours. Wherefore, some of them suppose that there are an infinite number of worldes, some more, some fewer. Among whom are reckoned the followers of the Philosophers *Epicurus*, and *Democritus*.
>
> S. Are there indeede many worldes?
>
> M. Fie vpon this infinite or multitude of worlds. Ther is one and no moe.[1]

In 1576, therefore, the question of the infinity of the universe was already a subject of bitter theological and philosophic dispute. The only novelty in Digges', or, later, in Bruno's ideas, lay in the fact that they united the conception of an infinite universe with the astronomical system of Copernicus, and implied that in this new astronomy was to be found a physical proof of ideas that had hitherto been purely metaphysical speculations. Hence, it becomes of the utmost importance, in evaluating Digges' work, to determine whether his idea that the universe was infinite resulted solely from metaphysical considerations, or whether scientific reasoning and observation played the decisive part in the formulation of his theory. The answer to this question is to be found in the known facts of Digges' life and scientific achievements, and particularly in his astronomical observations and speculations which are recorded in his *Alae*.

Thomas Digges was the son of the eminent English mathematician, Leonard Digges, and was born about 1545. The *Dictionary of National Biography* is altogether wrong in identifying him with a certain Thomas Dygges or Degge, who matriculated at Queens' College, Cam-

[1] Fol. 26.

bridge, in 1546.[1] There seems to be no evidence that he attended Cambridge or Oxford, although Anthony à Wood believed that he studied at the latter. The statements made by Digges himself in his published works certainly give the impression that he had not been a student at either university, but had received all his mathematical and scientific training, first from his father, who died when Thomas was very young, and afterwards from John Dee, who remained his intimate friend throughout his life.[2] Certainly, during the youth of Thomas Digges there were no abler tutors in the physical sciences in England than his father and John Dee, and their instruction would have been far more profitable than any that could have been obtained in the universities. Digges, in his works, often mentions his father's researches in the mathematical sciences, and his indebtedness to his father's teaching and the papers that he left when he died. He frequently refers to John Dee as his "second parent in mathematics and astronomy" and tells us that Dee had sown many seeds of those sciences in his mind during his most tender years.[3]

The first book published by Thomas Digges was the *Pantometria* (1571), a work begun by his father, which Thomas completed and augmented. It is often referred to in histories of astronomy because of its description of the early form of a telescope which Leonard Digges invented, and of the marvelous experiments he performed by means of "frames of perspective glasses," as he calls them, "placed at due angles."[4] Digges mentions here a separate volume he has written on perspective glasses, but it has apparently been lost.

Thomas Digges' contemporaries had a keen interest in the properties of combinations of lenses and mirrors, and appreciated his special knowledge of this subject. About 1580 William Bourne, at Lord Burghley's request, wrote a short treatise on the properties and qualities of glasses for optical purposes, which makes it clear that an

[1] The evidence for the date of Digges' birth, which is based upon many passages in his own published works and his definite statement in MS Lansdowne 67(5) in the British Museum, is being published in the *Times Literary Supplement.*

[2] See *Stratioticos* (1579), p. 190; *Alae*, sig. 2A2r.

[3] *Alae*, sig. 2A2r.

[4] The important passages occur in the Preface to the *Pantometria*, and at the end of Bk. I, Chap. 21. Portions of them are reprinted in R. T. Gunther's *Early Science in Oxford* (Oxford, 1923), II, 289–91.

extensive acquaintance with the principles governing the manufacture and construction of these "frames of perspective glasses" existed in England at that time.[1] In this treatise Bourne mentions Thomas Digges and John Dee as the two men most skilled in these matters.

The passages from the *Pantometria* and Bourne's treatise prove that Thomas Digges was fully acquainted with the principles of both the refracting and reflecting telescopes, and that his contemporaries in England were well aware that he had this special knowledge. We cannot be certain, however, that he ever made use of these "perspective glasses" in connection with his astronomical observations. It is entirely possible that Digges may at some time have pointed a frame of lenses and mirrors towards the heavens, and that certain of the "late *Obseruations*" mentioned in 1579 in describing his unfinished "Commentaries" on Copernicus were made in this manner, but there is no direct proof. How far we may be justified in inferring the use of such an instrument will appear more clearly after we have considered Digges' work on the famous new star that appeared in the constellation of Cassiopeia in 1572. This book, entitled *Alae seu Scalae Mathematicae*, was printed at the end of February in 1573 and dedicated to Lord Burghley.[2]

The sudden appearance of this star was one of the most notable events in the history of astronomy. It awakened the mathematicians and astronomers of Europe to the necessity of making accurate and systematic observations of the heavens, in order to determine the nature of this phenomenon. The most eminent astronomer who re-

[1] This treatise is in the British Museum, MS Lansdowne 121. It has been reprinted by J. O. Halliwell in *Rara Mathematica* (London, 1841), pp. 32–47, and, in part, by R. T. Gunther, *op. cit.*, II, 291–93.

[2] The full title is *Alae seu Scalae Mathematicae, quibus visibilium remotissima Coelorum Theatra conscendi, & Planetarum omnium itinera nouis & inauditis Methodis explorari: tùm huius portentosi Syderis in Mundi Boreali plaga insolito fulgore coruscantis, Distantia, & Magnitudo immensa, Situsque protinùs tremendus indagari, Deique stupendum ostentum, Terricolis expositum, cognosci liquidissimè possit. Thoma Diggeseo, Cantiensi, Stemmatis Generosi, Authore.* The book was printed by Thomas Marshe and dated 1573. Digges' preface to the reader is dated, "Londini Februario. Anno. 1573.", and he speaks of his observations as having been made "in the middle of February of the present year." The text of the work as a whole makes it certain that he is referring to February, 1573, *not* 1574, and that he was therefore following the new reckoning, which counted the new year from January 1 instead of March 25.

corded his observations of this star was Tycho Brahe; his first important work was his book on this new star. It is noteworthy that, next to Tycho's, the best set of published observations on the star was made by Thomas Digges, and printed at the beginning of his *Alae*. Tycho himself had a very high opinion of Digges' work, and when, later, he undertakes, in his *Progymnasmata*, to give a detailed analysis of the books written on the new star, he devotes over thirty pages to Digges' book — nearly twice the space given to any other work.[1] He compares the results of Digges' observations with his own and finds a maximum difference of four minutes of arc, the differences running from one and one-half to four minutes. The best observations by other persons were those made by Munosius in Spain and Thaddeus Hagecius in Bohemia. Munosius' measurements differed as much as eight minutes from Tycho's, whereas Hagecius had differences as high as sixteen minutes. Other astronomers recorded positions differing from Tycho's by more than a degree. Digges made his readings with a large cross-staff, with transversal divisions — probably as good an instrument of its kind as was then available. He also understood the necessity of making allowance for the eccentricity of the eye, and explains this correction in his book.[2] Tycho, on the other hand, was at this time using a large sextant, with arms about five and one-half feet long, an instrument capable of much greater accuracy but far more costly.

Another example of Digges' skill and ingenuity as an astronomical observer is the simple, non-mathematical method whereby he determined that the daily parallax of the new star was certainly less than two minutes, if, indeed, it had any sensible parallax whatsoever.[3] He suspended a ruler about six feet long in a vertical plane, and observed when its edge intersected the new star and two other known stars. Noting which stars these were, he waited six or seven hours and then held the ruler so that it passed through the two known stars, and found that it also cut the new star. Two pairs of known stars were used in

[1] *Tychonis Brahe Astronomiae Instauratae Progymnasmata* (Prague, 1602), pp. 653–90 [reprinted by J. L. E. Dreyer in *Tychonis Brahe Dani Opera Omnia*, III, 167–203].

[2] *Alae*, sigs. $I1^r$–$[I3^r]$.

[3] The daily parallax of a heavenly body is defined mathematically as the angle subtended by the earth's mean radius at the distance of that body. The annual parallax of a star is the angle subtended by the mean radius of the earth's orbit at the distance of the star. Thus the parallax measures the difference in apparent direction of a star.

this experiment: the first, β Cephei and γ Cassiopeia, and the second, ι Cephei and δ Cassiopeia. Digges states that he made this experiment on every favorable night throughout the month of February, 1573, and in every instance the line joining the two stars of a pair clearly passed through some part of the new star and thus lay within its circumference. As he assumed the apparent diameter of the new star to be about three minutes, he concluded that it could not have a parallax of as much as two minutes, a quantity too small to be perceived by this method.[1] The point of intersection of the two lines joining these pairs of stars gave a fairly accurate indication of the position of this star. Tycho calculated the new star's location from these data, using his own positions of the four stars, and found the longitude of the new star only two minutes greater and the latitude only one-half minute greater than the figures he derived from his own observations.[2] This result lies within the probable error of Tycho's own instruments.

There can be no question, therefore, that Digges was one of the ablest and most accurate astronomical observers of his time. Our present interest, however, is not in his observations themselves, but in their connection with his theories on the system of the universe. Several times in his book on the new star he makes this connection perfectly clear, saying that he regards the appearance of this rare phenomenon as a heaven-sent opportunity for determining the true system of the universe. By accurate observations of this new star and of other heavenly bodies, he believes that it can be determined whether the Copernican system is entirely true, or needs to be still further corrected.

To understand fully the ideas that Digges advances in his *Alae*, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the history of the new star.[3] It

[1] *Alae*, sig. [K3^{v}]. It is noteworthy that Digges' ideas concerning the apparent diameters of the planets and the stars agree very closely with those of Tycho, and the values are thus much smaller than those previously assumed by most astronomers. Tycho gives the apparent mean diameter of Venus as 3′ 15″, of Jupiter as 2′ 45″, and of the first-magnitude stars as 2′. (*Progymnasmata*, pp. 475–76, 481–82 [reprinted in *Opera Omnia*, ed. Dreyer, II, 424–25, 430].)

[2] *Progymnasmata*, pp. 679–83 [*Opera Omnia*, III, 192–96]. Through an obvious error, Digges, in the *Alae*, named his two pairs of stars β Cephei and δ Cassiopeia, and ι Cephei and γ Cassiopeia. Tycho ridicules this mistake before interchanging δ and γ Cassiopeia and making his calculations.

[3] The history of this star, particularly in relation to the work of Tycho, is described more fully by J. L. E. Dreyer in his *Tycho Brahe* (Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 38–69.

was first noticed early in the month of November of 1572, when it shone as bright as Venus at maximum brilliance; but it gradually became fainter, until, at the end of March, 1574, it was no longer visible. In February, 1573, when Digges made his recorded observations, it was no brighter than the stars of the first magnitude.

This strange phenomenon naturally aroused both wonder and alarm, and people were eager to know its astrological significance. Within a month after the first appearance of the new star, Lord Burghley had asked Digges for his ideas concerning its nature and influence. Accordingly, on December 11, 1572, Digges sent Burghley some notes of his observations and predictions.[1]

Digges himself was little concerned with the astrological aspects of the new star.[2] On the other hand, he was most eager to ascertain its true nature and position by accurate astronomical observations, and to discover whether it had a measurable parallax so that its distance from the earth might be calculated. He found the mathematics of his day inadequate for his purpose, and the main body of his *Alae* is devoted to the new trigonometric theorems he had devised in order that extremely small parallaxes might be successfully determined. He published his book as soon as it was completed, in order that European astronomers might be able to make use of these theorems in their observations of this new but rapidly fading star.

The most striking feature of both the preliminary and concluding portions of the *Alae* is the insistence with which Digges repeats his idea that the Copernican system can now be tested, and, if necessary, corrected, by means of accurate astronomical observations. He clearly hoped that from the observation of the new star firm proof of the Copernican theory might be obtained. In this connection he suggested that the star's decline in brilliance might be due solely to the earth's motion in its orbit away from the star. He expected that, within some six months of the star's first appearance, it would reach its maximum elongation, and then would start increasing in brightness till it reached its former splendor.[3] Near the end of his book Digges inserts an earnest

[1] *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic), 1547–1580*, p. 454.

[2] Note that the *Alae* contains no astrological matter whatever, in direct contrast to Tycho's book on the new star.

[3] *Alae*, sigs. [2A3^{r}]–[2A3^{v}]. Note also the passages on sigs. A4^{v}, 2A2^{v}, and [2A4^{v}]–B1^{r}.

appeal to all astronomers to make careful observations of the new star, in order to determine the true system of the universe. This passage is a characteristic expression of his ideas:

> However, I cannot here set a limit to again urging, exhorting and admonishing all students of *Celestial Wisdom*, with respect to how great and how hoped-for an opportunity has been offered to Earthdwellers of examining whether the *Monstrous System* of Celestial globes, which was fashioned by the ancients, has been fully corrected and amended by that divine *Copernicus* of more than human talent, or whether there still remains something else to be further considered. This, I have considered, cannot be done otherwise than through most careful observations, now of this *Most Rare Star*, now of the rest of the wandering stars and through various changes in their appearances, and all this done in the various regions of this dark and obscure *Terrestrial Star*, where, wandering as strangers, we lead, in a short space of time, a life harassed by varied fortunes.[1]

The *Alae* contains no statements or speculations as to whether or not the universe is infinite. We have seen, however, that it makes perfectly clear the exact state of Digges' astronomical ideas at the beginning of 1573. He had definitely rejected the old system of astronomy and believed that the heliocentric system of Copernicus was probably the true one. He was interested above everything else in trying to determine the true order of the universe by means of accurate observations and mathematical calculations. Both in this, and in his other scientific works, he shows a clear realization of the importance of carefully testing all hypotheses by scientific methods.

Although we know none of the details of Digges' astronomical investigations after 1573, we may be certain that he continued his work in astronomy, for we have, not only his promises to do so in the *Alae*, but also his reference in 1579 to his not yet completed "Commentaries vpon the Reuolutions of Copernicus" and the "late *Obseruations*" upon which that work was grounded. His treatise of 1576 on the Copernican system, which is the only astronomical work of this later period which has survived, gives no information as to the details of his investigations; it merely sets forth the startling conclusions that the

[1] *Ibid.*, sig. L2^{v}. The authors of this article are greatly indebted to Miss Ethel M. Ward, of the University of California at Los Angeles, for translating a large portion of the Latin text of Digges' *Alae*.

stars are infinite in number, are located at varying distances from the center of our solar system, and extend throughout infinite space.

We cannot know precisely how Digges reached these conclusions, but there are certain obvious possibilities that suggest themselves. In 1573 he was most eager to secure accurate measurements of the parallaxes of the various heavenly bodies, as the first requisite for determining the true system of the universe. In the case of the stars, his efforts were doomed to failure from the start, for even the annual parallax of the nearest stars was far too small to be detected by the instruments of his time, or, for that matter, for nearly 300 years thereafter.[1] Furthermore, the new star, which he had thought might again begin to increase in brilliance after the vernal equinox of 1573, and regain its former splendor about the time of the autumnal equinox of that year, did not do so, but continued to fade from view. Thus, his conjecture that the variable luminosity of this new star was due solely to its increasing and decreasing distance from the earth resulting from the earth's orbital motion was proved untenable.

As a result of his astronomical observations, therefore, Digges would be forced to choose one of three courses. He might reject the Copernican system and return to the idea of a central earth and a comparatively small sphere of the fixed stars, located just beyond the orb of Saturn. This was the course followed by Tycho and many others. A second possibility would be to adopt the makeshift compromise of Copernicus, retaining a definite, though motionless, sphere of fixed stars, but making this sphere sufficiently large to account for the absence of any perceptible stellar parallax. Nearly all of the sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century astronomers who supported Copernicus took this course. Digges, however, was the first important astronomer of that period who boldly adopted the third alternative, shattered the outer wall of the old Ptolemaic universe, and placed the stars at varying distances throughout infinite space. His attempt to account for the behavior of the new star of 1572 may have been partly responsible for his taking this course. In the *Alae* he makes it clear that he believed that the only possible scientific explanation of the variable luminosity

[1] The true annual parallaxes of the nearest stars are less than 1″. The first successful measurements of stellar parallaxes were not made until 1838, when Bessel, Henderson, and Struve each announced results for different stars.

of this star was the change in its distance from the earth.[1] His theory, of course, fails to explain the star's sudden appearance, but if followed through would account for the decreasing brilliance of the star in terms of a motion in a straight line away from the earth or, rather, from the center of the earth's orbit. This idea had been vaguely suggested by Digges [2] and was advanced also by John Dee. Inasmuch as the star, even at its brightest, had been proved so far from the earth that it had no parallax, its distance when it finally faded from view must, by this hypothesis, have been inconceivably greater than at its first appearance. There is also the possibility that Digges at some time pointed one of his telescopes towards the heavens, for the thought of doing this might quite naturally have occurred to him. If he had done so, he would have seen at once that there are far more stars in the sky than are visible to the unaided eye and noticed that, in giving clearer definition to the distant stars, the instrument did not increase the apparent diameters but actually made them seem much smaller than before. Thus, one great objection to his theory would be minimized, for, if the apparent diameters were really not so great as commonly believed, he would not have to assign such huge sizes to the stars as a consequence of their increased distances from the earth. Furthermore, observation with the telescope would tend to confirm his idea that the stars were infinite in number.

However, the precise reasons which led Digges to assert that the universe should be conceived as infinite, with the stars at varying distances, must remain forever uncertain. We may nevertheless be sure, from our knowledge of Digges' work as a scientist and from his own statements on astronomical questions, that in approaching this problem he consistently kept to the scientific point of view. Hence, although the metaphysical speculations on infinity found in Palingenius and in other poets and philosophers may have originally directed his thoughts toward these matters, scientific considerations played the decisive part in the formulation of his hypothesis, and no one was more eager than he to try to verify it by observation and experiment.

Exactly the opposite was true in the case of Giordano Bruno, to whom credit has hitherto been given for being the first to propose the idea of the infinity of the universe as a corollary to the Copernican sys-

[1] *Alae*, sig. [2A3^{v}].

[2] *Ibid.*, sigs. B1^{v}–B2^{r}.

tem. Bruno, unlike Digges, was not an eminent mathematician and scientist and, although he at times gave lip service to the experimental method, he never deigned to practice it. In short, Bruno's ideas of the infinite were arrived at by purely metaphysical speculations; the Copernican system was merely seized upon and expanded in his philosophy because it could be made to give a seeming proof, in the physical realm, of the cardinal feature of a philosophical system which sought to penetrate the secrets of the universe by means of intuition and a sort of mystic revelation, rather than by direct observation. Bruno's discussions of the Copernican theory in his works make it abundantly clear that he never fully understood or appreciated the rigid mathematical system upon which it was erected.[1]

The extent of the influence of Digges' short treatise on the Copernican system and the infinite universe is a most important question, but one to which it is difficult to give any general answer. Without a doubt, this treatise was almost unknown outside of England: first, because it was written in English, not Latin; and second, because it was not put forward as a work of sufficient importance to merit translation into other languages. But, although Digges' patriotic determination to glorify his native tongue prevented his conclusions concerning the system of the universe from becoming generally known on the Continent, it unquestionably gave them far wider circulation in England. The extreme popularity of the little book in which Digges' treatise appeared, and the many editions of it printed between 1576 and 1605, have already been discussed. From it the average Englishman, who lacked the learning to read and understand Copernicus, got his first clear exposition of the new system of the universe, and, joined with it, the definite theory that the stars were located at varying distances throughout infinite space. The great weight of Digges' name would lend added authority to these ideas, for all his contemporaries considered him, along with John Dee and Thomas Harriot, as the greatest of the English mathematicians.[2] Furthermore, Digges' astronomical

[1] The various elements making up Bruno's philosophy, and the place of the Copernican theory in his astronomical speculations, are ably and fully discussed by Leonardo Olschki in his *Giordano Bruno* (Bari, 1927), especially pp. 36–65.

[2] See, for example, Gabriel Harvey's reference to Digges in *Pierces Supererogation* (1593), p. 190; the passage from Captain John Davis' *The Seamans Secrets*, quoted in the *Dictionary*

treatise was considered so important a part of the volume to which it was added, that Andrew Maunsell, when he came to enter the 1592 edition of the *Prognostication euerlastinge* in his catalogue in 1595, recorded also the full title of Thomas Digges' *A Perfit Description of the Caelestiall Orbes*.

Several decades later, Robert Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, never fails to include Digges' name when he mentions those who ardently believe in the Copernican theory as a physical reality and not merely as a mathematical hypothesis. In his preface, "Democritus Junior to the Reader," he says:

> *Copernicus*, *Atlas* his successor, is of opinion the earth is a planet, moves and shines to others, as the moon doth to us. *Digges*, *Gilbert*, *Keplerus*, *Origanus*, and others, defend this *hypothesis* of his in sober sadness, and [hold] that the moon is inhabited.[1]

Later, in the chapter entitled, "Air rectified. With a digression of the Air," [2] Burton twice mentions Digges as a believer in the motion of the earth according to the Copernican hypothesis, along with Calcagnini, Telesio, Kepler, Rothmann, Gilbert, Galileo, Campanella, Lansberg, and Origanus. With the exception of Calcagnini's book, which is of no importance, Digges' work comes earlier than that of the others on Burton's list.

Probably the best evidence of the influence Digges' treatise had on the ideas of the time is the fact that the conception of the varying distances and infinite number of the stars seems very early to have become linked inseparably in the English mind with the Copernican system of the universe. The diagram of the universe which accompanied the treatise was undoubtedly responsible for this, for a picture of this sort always makes a far more lasting impression on the average mind than any mere statement of a theory. Thus, it was not Copernicus' plan of the universe, with the stars located at uniform distances around the eighth sphere, but Digges' plan, with the stars at varying distances out to infinity, that became associated in the popular mind with the new heliocentric theory. Gilbert, for example, in the third

of National Biography, *sub* Thomas Digges; and references throughout the works of William Bourne.

[1] *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Shilleto (London, 1896), I, 86.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 60, 65.

chapter of the sixth book of his *De Magnete* (1600), accepts the idea of the varying and immeasurable distances of the fixed stars, and uses it to refute the idea of the motion of the eighth sphere.[1] We have already referred to the diagrams of the universe inserted in Gilbert's posthumous work and in John Wilkins' books; all of these seem to be derived from the diagram that Digges published in 1576.

It is only in England, apparently, that most of the diagrams portraying the heliocentric system of the universe and printed between 1576 and the middle of the seventeenth century, agree in placing the fixed stars at varying distances. This close association in the English mind between the Copernican theory and the idea that the stars were located at varying distances in infinite space, almost certainly owed its origin solely to Digges' familiar plan of the "celestial orbes." Bruno's more dramatic and wildly speculative theories of the infinity of the universe do not appear to have become generally known in England before the beginning of the seventeenth century, and then, not through his Italian works printed in England, but through the later works written in Latin, particularly the *De Immenso*. When Bruno's cosmological ideas finally became familiar to the English people, they merely confirmed the notion, already deeply implanted in their minds, that the infinity of the physical universe was an integral part of the Copernican hypothesis. The hold which this idea had upon English astronomers is strikingly illustrated by the attitude of Thomas Harriot and his group of friends and pupils, who were the leading astronomical observers in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century and were using telescopes as early as, or perhaps earlier than, Galileo. When Kepler, in his book *De Stella nova in pede Serpentarii* (1606), attempted to disprove the theory of the infinite universe, and the varying distances of the stars (which Kepler, not knowing Digges' work, credited to Gilbert and Bruno), Harriot and his associates rose to the defense of this idea, and exposed the flaws in Kepler's arguments.[2]

[1] On the basis of this passage, Sylvanus P. Thompson has erroneously credited Gilbert with being the first to place the stars at varying distances, and states that this was Gilbert's one contribution to the science of astronomy. (Notes to the Gilbert Club translation of the *De Magnete* [London, 1900], p. 61.)

[2] See the letter of Sir William Lower to Thomas Harriot, dated June 21, 1610 (British Museum, MS Add. 6789; reprinted by Henry Stevens of Vermont in *Thomas Hariot the Mathematician the Philosopher and the Scholar* [London, 1900], pp. 116–18).

Thomas Digges' great importance, both in the history of astronomy and in the history of ideas in England, does not, therefore, rest solely on his having been the first to make the details of the Copernican system generally known to his countrymen. His idea of an infinite universe, having been put forward in a popular treatise expounding the new cosmology, came to be regarded by his readers as a part of the Copernican theory itself. Thus, in the very period when the ancient ideas concerning the true order of our own solar system were beginning to be corrected, the works of Digges directed the thoughts of Englishmen towards what lay beyond the borders of this system, at the same time emphasizing the necessity of basing speculations about the distant stellar regions upon a foundation of actual astronomical observations and calculations. By this method, advocated by Digges, of progressively testing theories by observations and experiments, and not by the method of brilliant metaphysical speculation, succeeding generations of astronomers have gradually enlarged our knowledge of the outer regions of space and substantially confirmed the main features of his hypothesis.

Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Elianor Cobham His Wife in the *Mirror for Magistrates*

By LILY B. CAMPBELL

THE *Mirror for Magistrates* is perhaps best understood when it is viewed in the light of contemporary discussions in regard to the value of history. Peter Ashton's dedication to Sir Ralph Sadleir of his translation in 1546 of *A shorte treatise vpon the Turkes Chronicles*[1] gave a typical exposition of the subject:

> This glasse ye Plato speketh on (right Honorable sir) maye be taken not without a cause (as I thinke) for the bokes of wisdome and manours, whiche the Philosophers & wyse men haue lefte to theyr posteritie in writing, but espetially for Chronicles & histories, wherin all thinges mete and necessarie for men of euery degree and estate, be most plentyfully and lyuelyest set forthe. For like as a man beholding him selfe in a glasse, dothe euidently perceiue with his eyes his owne colour and complexion, the forme and figure of his face, . . .
>
> So lykwise shal ye see in hystories, euen from the first monarchie vnto this day, the forme & figure of all Empires & common welthes, . . .
>
> But now . . . I wil conclude brefely (as towchinge the prayse of histories) with the eloquent oratour and famous clerke Cicero, in the second boke of his Orator, writing on this wyse. An hystorie is the witnes of tymes, ye glasse of trueth, the keper of remembrance, ye guyde of our life, and the messinger and tydinges teller of all antiquytie.

In 1549, John Bale's dedication to the young King, Edward VI, of *The laboryouse Iourney & serche of Iohan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees, geuen of hym as a newe yeares gyfte to Kynge Henry the viij. in the .xxxvij. yeare of his Reygne*, gave renewed emphasis to the immediate usefulness of the study of history:

[1] A work by Paolo Giovio (Paulus Jovius). Throughout this article I have expanded words abbreviated in the text, save only ye, yt, &, and &c.

I shall not nowe neade to recite to your learned maiestie, what profyte aryseth by continuall readinge of bokes, specyally of auncyent hystories, after the necessarye searche of the Byble scryptures, for the treatyse here folowinge will plenteously declare it. They treat what is in ych commen welth to be folowed, and what to be chefely eschewed. What causeth a realme to floryshe, and what doth dyminish the estate therof, wyth a thousande of like matters. They much deceyue Christen Prynces, that disswade them from vertuouse studie of the sacred scryptures, and Chronicles, as the vyrulent papystes haue done by al practyses possible to make them the ymages of theyr beastly father of Rome, *Apoc.* xiij.

The records of the period of Edward VI prove, moreover, that the study of history was undertaken in precisely the spirit advocated by both Ashton and Bale. And especially did the men powerful in this reign turn back to the reigns of those kings of England, who, like their young King Edward, had ruled as minors. Most often, it would seem, they found precedents in the reign of Henry VI.[1] With great daring Latimer preached before Edward VI in 1549 a series of sermons in which he made explicit application of the lessons taught by the reign of Henry VI — somewhat to the confusion of the court of Edward VI.[2]

It will be remembered that at the death of Henry VIII, Edward Seymour secured for himself the rôle of Protector, taking upon himself both the governing of the boy King and the governing of the kingdom. Thomas Seymour felt that this power might better be divided between the two uncles of the King, and he seems to have wished for himself the position of governing the King's person. For this division of authority he found precedent in the reign of Henry VI. Thus there was strife between the two brothers, the uncles of the King — Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Protector, and Thomas Seymour, Baron Sudeley and Lord High Admiral of England. At the time of Thomas Seymour's trial for treason Sir William Sharington testified:

[1] See J. A. Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*, IV, 369.

[2] The last five of the seven sermons were published with *The seconde Sermon of Master Hughe Latemer, whych he preached before the Kynges maiestie, within hys graces Palayce at Westminstre ye .xv day of Marche. M.CCCCC.XLIX.* The first sermon was published separately. All seven are reprinted in the Arber Reprints. For further discussion of these sermons see below, p. 136.

Yt was in the Tyme of Displeasure betwene my Lord's Grace [Protector Somerset] and him, what Tyme he sought out of the *Cronicles*, how the King being yong, ought to be governed.[1]

We know that it was at the court of Edward VI, where history was being consulted for the light it might throw upon contemporary problems, and where the use of biblical and historical precedent was being advocated as part of the new Protestant propaganda, that George Ferrers, William Baldwin, Sir Thomas Chaloner, and others of the group who fashioned *A Myrroure for Magistrates*, became fellow workers on the King's pastimes.[2] That they undertook to write a mirror for magistrates, under the impulse of the current propaganda as to the usefulness of history, is amply proved by Baldwin's own words in his epistle "To the nobilitye and all other in office," which prefaced the edition of 1559:

Howe he [God] hath plaged euill rulers from time to time, in other nacions, you may see gathered in Boccas booke intituled the fall of Princes, translated into Englishe by Lydgate: Howe he hath delt with sum of our countreymen your auncestors, for sundrye vices not yet left, this booke named *A Myrrour for Magistrates*, can shewe: which therfore I humbly offre vnto your honors, beseching you to accept it fauorably. For here as in a loking glas, you shall see (if any vice be in you) howe the like hath bene punished in other heretofore, whereby admonished, I trust it will be a good occasion to move you to the soner amendment. This is the chiefest ende, whye it is set furth, which God graunt it may attayne.

When the *Mirror* so conceived was actually written, we have no means of knowing except by inference from Baldwin's further statement in the 1559 edition:

The wurke was begun, & part of it p[rinted] .iiii. yeare agoe, but hyndred by the lord Chauncellour that then was, nevertheles, through ỹ meanes of my lord Stafford, lately perused & licenced.

[1] Samuel Haynes, *A Collection of State Papers, . . . Transcribed from Original Letters and other Authentick Memorials, . . . Left by William Cecill Lord Burghley* (1740), p. 92.

[2] George Ferrers was made Master of the King's Pastimes (see below, p. 128) for the Christmas season 1551–52. So well did he please the King and Court that he was again appointed to the place for the following year, the last of Edward's life. William Baldwin gives an interesting account of incidental events at the Court, in the "Argument" prefixed to his *Beware the Cat*. See also A. Feuillerat, *Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary* (1914), especially pp. 56–63, 89–91, and 134–43.

This statement would put the first edition early in the reign of Mary, but as to how much of the text printed and not printed in the 1559 edition was to be included in the "hyndred" edition we have little external evidence to show, since there are now known of this edition only two duplicate folios of text and title-pages of two different issues.[1] Yet the problem thus set is of the greatest interest to all those who study the *Mirror* from the point of view from which its authors regarded it, as a mirror of the past, by which their contemporaries might profit practically. Much of the interest of students of the *Mirror* has rightly, therefore, been directed to the two "tragedies" of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and of Elianor Cobham his wife, for here we have a case that may throw light on the whole problem. These tragedies by George Ferrers were "hyndred" until 1578. A study of these tragedies, then, ought to give us an idea of the method by which Baldwin and his associates worked out their theory of the usefulness of history in their practical application of the theory.

To get the problem as it related to these tragedies clearly before the reader it is necessary to sketch the history of the tragedies to be considered. The 1559 edition of the *Mirror* indexed the tragedy:[2]

> ¶ Good duke Humfrey murdered, and Elianor Cobham his wife banished. fol. xl.

There seems to have been but one tragedy represented in the entry, though the prose link after the tragedy of James I of Scotland on folio xxxix is not decisive in its mention of Duke Humphrey and his wife:

> . . . both whose tragedies I entend at leasure to declare, for they be notable. Do so I pray you (q̄ another) But take hede ye demurre not vpon them. And I to be occupied the meane time, will shewe what I haue noted in the duke of Suffolkes doinges, . . .

At any rate the text does not fulfil the promise of the index. The 1563 edition, though adding other tragedies evidently omitted in 1559,

[1] For an account of the discovery of the second title-page, see W. A. Jackson, "Wayland's Edition of the 'Mirror for Magistrates,'" in *The Library* for 1932 (pp. 155–57).

[2] This is the exact arrangement of the title in the index. It is quite clearly intended as one entry, not two.

makes no mention of Duke Humphrey and his wife. In the edition of 1571 we find in the index two titles rather than one:

28. The vnworthy death of ꝯ worthy Duke Humfrey of Glocester, protectour of England, contriued by false practises. Fol. 199.

29. The penance & exile of ꝯ Lady Elyanor Cobham Duches of Glocester, for witchcraft and sorcery.

That the introduction of these tragedies seemed precarious at the time is indicated by the fact that they were added at the end of the index, that they were indexed to begin some thirty pages after the close of the preceding tragedy, and that they were not included in the text after all. No reference to the tragedies was made in the 1574 and 1575 editions, but again in 1578, in what after 1574 was known as *The Last part of the Mirour for Magistrates*, there was indexed a single tragedy:

11. Humphrey Plantagenet Duke of Glocester Protector of England by practyse of Enemies was broughte to confusion. Fol. 40.

The prose link introducing this tragedy was essentially the same as that which followed the tragedy of King James in all preceding editions, and the text of the tragedy was at last introduced on folio 40, as it was originally planned in 1559.

The 1578 edition, however, appeared also with a cancel, folio 39 being canceled and a new unfoliated gathering being substituted for the cancel (sig. F ¶ .), F ¶ .i. falling on "Fol. 39." This gathering carried a new prose link and a new tragedy (unindexed) which had for its title:

How Dame Elianor Cobham Duchesse of Glocester, for practising of witchcraft and Sorcery, suffred open penance, and after was banished the realme into the yle of Man.

Students of the *Mirror for Magistrates* have known hitherto but the one state of the 1578 edition [1] — that in which the cancel appears; and accordingly they have generally accepted the two tragedies, of Duke Humphrey and of Elianor Cobham his wife, as companion

[1] For a full account of the 1578 edition and the variations in the prose links introducing these two tragedies, see my letter to the London *Times Literary Supplement*, June 30, 1932, p. 480.

studies, anticipating *The Ring and the Book* in method. They have assumed that Humphrey and his wife were telling complementary versions of the same story, as might be expected if they were presented by a single writer with a view to the exact presentation of historical fact.

Now, my contention is that to consider the two tragedies as complementary is to misunderstand them altogether, for they not only record different events and point different morals, but they make statements of fact which are diametrically opposed. Perhaps the most striking instance of this disparity is to be found in the stanzas in which each rehearses the nature of Elianor's sin. The original tragedy presents Duke Humphrey's version thus:

> Elianor my wife, my Dutches only deare,
> I know not how but as the nature is
> Of women al, aye curious to enquiere
> Of thinges to come (though I confesse in this
> Her fault not small) and that shee did amisse,
> By wytches skill, which sorcery some call,
> Would know of thinges which after should befall.
>
> And for that cause made her selfe acquainted
> With mother Madge, called the wytch of Eye,
> And with a Clerke that after was attainted,
> Bolenbroke he hight, that learned was that way,
> With other moe, which famous were that daye,
> Aswel in Science, called Mathematicall,
> As also in magicke and skil supernatural
>
> These cunning folkes she set on worke to know,
> The time how long the king should liue and raigne,
> Some by the Starres, and some by deuils below,
> Some by witchcraft sought knowledge to attayne,
> With like fancies, friuolous fond and vayne,
> Whereof though I knew least of any man,
> Yet by that meane my mischiefe first began.
>
> *Yet besides this there was a greater thing,*
> *How she in waxe by counsel of the witch,*
> *An Image made, crowned like a king,*
> With sword in hand, in shape and likenesse syche
> As was the kinge, which dayly they did pytch
> Against a fyre, that as the waxe did melt,
> *So should his lyfe consume away vnfelt.*

My Dutchesse thus, accused of this cryme,
As she that should such practise first beginne,
My part was then to yeld vnto the time,
Geeuing her leaue, to deale alone therein
And since the cause concerned deadly synne,
Which to the clergie onely doth perteine,
To deale therein I plainly did refrayne.

In the new tragedy introduced in the cancel Elianor gives an account different in all important points:

So neare to be, was cause of my vayn hope
And long awayte when this fayre hap would fal.
My studies all were tending to that scope,
Alas, the whyle to councel I did call
Such as would seme, by skill coniectural
Of art Magicke and wicked Sorcery
To deeme and dyuine the princes desteny

Among which sort of those that bare most fame
There was a Beldame called the wytch of Ey,
Old mother Madge her neyghbours did hir name
Which wrought wonders in countryes by heresaye
Both feendes and fayries her charmyng would obay
And dead corpsis from graue she could vprere
Suche an Inchauntresse, as that tyme had no peere

Two pryestes also, the one hight Bolenbroke
The other Suthwell, great Clerkes in coniuration
These twoo Chapleins, were they that vndertooke
To cast and calke, the kinges constellation
And then to iudge by depe dyuination.
Of thinges to come, and who should next succede
To Englandes crowne, al this was true in deede.

And further sure they neuer did proceede
Though I confesse, that this attempt was ill,
But for my part, for any thing in dede
Wrought, or els thought, by any kynd of skill.
God is my iudge I neuer had the will
By any Inchauntment sorcery or charme
Or other wyse, to worke my princes harme.

Yet netheles, when this case came to light,
By secrete spyes to Cayphas our Cardinal
Who long in hart had borne a priuy spyght,

To my good Duke his nephew naturall
Glad of the chance, so fitly forth to fall
His long hid hate, with iustice to color
Used this case with most extream rigor.[1]

It will be noted that the first tragedy specifically says that Elianor did go further than trying to ascertain the future by astrology and divination, that she did contrive against the King's life by the waxen image, and that she thereby committed deadly sin and was rightly dealt with by the ecclesiastical authorities. Just as specifically the second tragedy makes Elianor deny that she did more than inquire into the future, and she utterly refutes her accuser's claims that she has in any way practiced against the life of the King. Surely the emphasis on deadly sin in the first tragedy and its specific disavowment in the second could not have been written by George Ferrers to serve a common purpose in mirroring the present through the agency of the past, for the past is here made to teach very widely different lessons. That the contemporary events which brought forth these two tragedies were events of different years and centered about different actors seems to me also clear after a long study of the *Mirror* and its times. I propose, then, to consider the two separately hereafter.

Miss Eveline Feasey in a very interesting paper, "The Licensing of the *Mirror for Magistrates*," which appeared in the *Library* for 1922–23,[2] contended that the suppression of the original *Mirror* must be laid to the tragedies of Duke Humphrey, Elianor Cobham, and Edmund Duke of Somerset. She found the primary cause of the suppression of the three to lie in the fact that Ferrers, as a sympathizer of Protector Somerset, was depicting the treachery which brought about the fall of Somerset while he was presenting the historical mirror of the good Duke Humphrey, and that he must therefore have offended Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor. Miss Feasey identified the two dukes on the basis of the treachery practiced against them both, as well as by the facts that each had a first marriage that ended in divorce, that both were called unexpectedly to a meeting of the Council, and that both were tried on a charge of treason.

[1] In these and following quotations I have used italics to emphasize important passages.
[2] Pp. 177–93.

That Ferrers was indeed presenting a picture of the fall of Somerset when he told of the troubles of the good Duke Humphrey in the first tragedy, there can be little doubt. In fact, Miss Feasey might have found very early corroborative evidence in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, where Foxe makes the definite comparison. I quote from the first English edition of 1563:

Briefly considerynge the nature & vertues of this Duke, I maye, as semeth, not vnaptly compare and resemble hym vnto Duke Humfrey, the good Duke of Glocester, who lykewyse being vncle vnto king Henrye the sixte, and Protectoure of the Realme, yet wanted not his enemies, and priuy enuyers, especiallye Henrye Beauforde Cardynall, Bishoppe of Wynchester, and Lorde Chauncelloure of Englande, who at that tyme disdaynynge and enuyinge the rule and authoritye of thys Duke, procured muche trouble agaynst hym, and greate diuision in the whole Realme, insomuche that all the shoppes wythin the Citie of London, were shutte in for feare of the fauourers of these two greate personages, for eche parte hadde assembled no small noumber of people. For pacifying whereof the Archebishoppe of Caunterburye, and the Duke of Quimber, called ye Prince of Portingale, rode viii. times in one day betwene the two aduersaries. Such wer then the troubles of this tumultuous diuision within the realm betwene these 2. not muche vnlike to the troublesome discorde betwixt parties in this Protectors dayes. And as in their afflictions and troubles, these twoo Dukes seamed not muche vnlyke, so in matters of religion and in discerning truthe from falshode, theire zeale semed not much to differ. Although the lyghte of the Gospell did not so fully then appeare, as in the time of this latter Duke (the Lorde be praysed therefore) yet the wysdome and towardnes of the other Duke also touchyng the same, was not vtterlye vnworthy of his commendation. . . .

By this may it be seen howe Duke Humfrey had not onely an head to discerne and disseuer truthe from forged and fained hypocrisie, but study also and diligence likewyse was in him to reforme that whiche was amisse. Wherfore he was the more hatefull to the spiritualtie then, and suche as Winchester was. Finally as this Lorde Protector, Duke of Somerset the kinges vncle, by certayne of the counsell, was then accused, arreigned and condemned, for the trespas (as it was geuen foorth) of felonie, although I neuer hard he murdered or robbed any: so the other vncle of kynge Henry the vi. was made away, of whose discease thus wryteth Maister William Tyndal in his boke of practise. At the last they found the meanes to contriue a drift to bring their matters to passe, and made a parliament, farre from the citezins of London, where was slayne the sayde good Duke, and

(as that autor sayeth) the onely wealth of the Realme, and the mightie shylde whiche so long had kept it from sorowe, which shortly after his death fell vpon them by heapes. But the cronicles (saieth he) can not tel wherfore he died, nor by what meanes. Neuertheles this they testifie, that he was a vertuous man, godly, and good to the common wealth. But to leaue Duke Humfrey, and to returne to the maners and properties of the Duke of Somerset, whiche before we were about to describe.[1]

Bishop Burnet in the next century, in his *History of the Reformation*, likewise wrote:

. . . Those who pleased themselves in comparing the events in their own times with the transactions of the former ages, found out many things to make a parallel between the duke of Somerset, and Humphrey the good duke of Gloucester in Henry the Sixth's time; but I shall leave the reader in that to his own observation.[2]

In the next place, while undoubtedly Ferrers had been with Somerset in the Scottish wars, it is equally true that he seems at the time of the fall of the Protector to have been considered by the arch enemy and successor of the Protector, the Duke of Northumberland, as a person on whom he could rely, for we read in Grafton's *Chronicle*, concerning Somerset's fall:

The Duke beyng condempned as is aforesayd, the people spake diuersly and murmored against the Duke of Northumberlande, and against some other of the Lordes for the condempnation of the sayd Duke, and also as the common fame went, the kinges maiestie tooke it not in good part: wherfore aswell to remooue fond talke out of mennes mouthes, as also to recreate and refreshe the troubled spirites of the yong king, it was deuised that the feast of Christes Natiuitie, commonly called Christmas then at hand, should be solemply kept at Greenewiche with open houshold, and franke resorte to the Court, (which is called keping of the Hall,) what time of olde ordinarye course, there is alwayes one appoynted to make sporte in the Courte, called commonly Lorde of Misrule, . . . There was therefore by order of the counsaile a Gentleman both wise and learned, whose name was George Ferrers appoynted to that office for this yere: who beyng of better calling then com-

[1] Pp. 882–83.

[2] Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (1865), II, 317. Foxe's authority is cited in a marginal note.

monly his predecessors had bene before, receyued all his commissions and warrauntes by the name of the Maister of the kinges pastimes. Which Gentleman so well supplyed his office, both in shew of sundry sightes and deuises of rare inuention, and in act of diuers enterludes and matters of pastime, played by persons, as not onely satisfied the common sorte, but also were very well liked and allowed by the counsayle and other of skill in the like pastimes: But best of al by the yong king himselfe, as appered by his princely liberalitie in rewarding that seruice.[1]

That Ferrers followed the fortunes of Somerset rather than that he followed Somerset seems evident from this account as well as from the later events of his life. I should not, therefore, quite agree with Miss Feasey in her acceptance of the complete adherence of Ferrers to the cause of Somerset — or to that of anyone else in fact.[2]

Further I have to disagree with Miss Feasey in considering the grounds of comparison between the two dukes to rest on the facts of their both having been divorced, their both having been summoned before the Council, and their both having been treacherously executed for treason. To consider the likeness in this fashion is to misunderstand the purpose and the method of the *Mirror*.

The *Mirror* was based upon the belief that history repeats itself, and it offered to the present a mirror from the past wherein might be seen images that carried their lessons to the present. To understand the purpose of this tragedy of Duke Humphrey, then, it is necessary to note carefully with what moral he points his tale. Now, the ghost of Duke Humphrey does not talk about his sins in terms of the events which Miss Feasey chronicles as particularly significant, but he does talk about his sins in exactly the same terms in which the leaders of the Reformation talked about Somerset after his fall. To make this quite clear, it needs to be emphasized that Duke Humphrey merely mentions, in passing, his marriage with the Lady Jaquet and his divorce, listing the affair as among his "*Delicta Iuuentutis*." Nor does he pay any attention to the charges of treason against him. On the

[1] Vol. II (1568), p. 1317. It is interesting to remember that Stowe insisted that the part of Grafton's *Chronicle* covering the reign of Queen Mary was written by George Ferrers. Holinshed incorporated this account (1577 ed.; last volume, p. 1709).

[2] For Ferrers' later connection with Mary Stuart and the Duke of Norfolk, see Sir Sidney Lee's reference in his article on Ferrers in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

other hand, if we analyze his tale, we find that he does stress certain other matters with evident didactic purpose.

(1) He warns men by his example not to trust in high estate, he that was "The sonne, brother, and vncle vnto kinges." Stanzas 1–8.

(2) He shows that discord among kinsmen when those kinsmen are near of kin to the king brings disaster into kingdoms more often than any other cause. Stanzas 9–21.

(3) He tells of the division of the cares of state between him and his brother, he having remained in England for affairs civil while his brother was sent to France for affairs martial. Cardinal Beaufort, made high chancellor of the realm, ruled like a prince and sought to discredit the Protector. He stirred up suspicion between the brothers, particularly objecting to the duke's reforms by which he punished lighter crimes more lightly, and sought to differentiate between murder and theft. (Here he mentions, in passing, the affair of Lady Jaquet, in stanzas 34 and 35.) Yet all his shifts did not serve the Cardinal Chancellor to displace the Protector. Stanzas 22–36.

(4) He says that the real beginning of misfortune came when his wife Elianor sought by sorcery to know what things were to befall, plotting with Mother Madge, the Witch of Ey, with Bolenbroke and others, to determine how long the King should live. But she went further, in making a wax image of the King as a means of harming him. In this she committed deadly sin and was subject to the ecclesiastical courts. She was compelled shamefully to do penance in the London streets for three days, walking barefoot and carrying a taper. Then she was sent into exile. This was but the first step by which the Protector saw himself deprived of office and then of life itself. Stanzas 37–45.

(5) He relates how his enemies persuaded the Queen it was "the kinges reproofe, / And hers also," that the King should be kept from rule, treated still like a pupil when he was a king of years, especially since the Protector was next of kin and so dear to the people that he might aspire to the crown. The Queen, not realizing how weak the King would be when the Protector was destroyed, plotted with the Dukes of York, Exeter, and Buckingham, with the "Marquise Dorset", but chiefly with the "Marquise of Suffolk", chief conspirator, and with the Cardinal. They held a parliament far from London, yet trust of truth and a clean conscience let him appear before them. Stanzas 46–58.

(6) He tells of his arrest on a charge of treason by the Viscount Beaumont as high constable, but he is unable to say just how he was murdered. Stanzas 59–63.

(7) He returns to his original theme, warning men of the unsure state of those that stand most high, and advising those that might rouse jealousy to bear low sail and to beware of too much favor from the people.

Stanzas 64, 65.

That Duke Humphrey was thus stressing the very points which the adherents of the Reformation were stressing in their discussions of Somerset is easily demonstrated. Foxe follows the same line of teaching as to the story:

King Edwarde, after bothe his father and mother were dead, had thre Vncles lefte hym by his mothers syde, Edwarde, Thomas, and Henry Semer, of the whiche two first, one was made Protectour of the Realme, and the other high Admirall of the same. These two brethren, so longe as they were knit and ioyned together in amity and concorde, preserued bothe themselues, the king theyr Nephew, and the whole common wealth, from the violence and feare of al daunger. But thold subtil serpent alwaies enuying mannes felicity, through slaunderous tongues, sought to sow matter, fyrst of discord betwene them, then of suspition, and last of all, extreme hatred: Insomuche, that the Protector suffred his brother being falslye accused withoute any manifest offense, and (as it was afterward proued) giltles, to be beheaded, wherby came to passe, that he, being not of so subtile and crafty wit, and the king, beyng yet but yong and tender of age, were the more weaker, and the sooner ouercome of his enemies, who (by what means and for what crimes laid to his charge, god knoweth) caused him to be cast in ye Tower, to the great grief and sorrow of al good christian men. Notwithstanding through the lords mercifull prouidence, was again deliuered out of the Tower. After which deliueraunce, he continued the space of two yeares and two dayes at libertie. After that was throwne into the Tower agayn, and within a short whyle after was condemned, and put to death: after whose death within a few moneths space, dyed Kyng Edward.[1]

Likewise in a letter from London dated January 22, 1552, Francis Bourgoyne writes to Calvin of these events:

But however this might be, it is quite evident, in my opinion, that the deceased nobleman, like other men, was not without his faults, and those perhaps more grievous than could be passed over by God without punish-

[1] P. 880 (1563 ed.). Foxe alters and enlarges this passage somewhat in later editions. Of Thomas Seymour's innocence he seems less certain in subsequent years, but he continues to emphasize the fatal division between the uncles of the King.

ment in this life: . . . This man was endowed and enriched with most excellent gifts of God both in body and mind, . . . I do not now mention how God had so exalted him, from being born in a private station, *that as the late king's brother-in-law, the brother of a queen, the uncle of the present king*, he had no one here superior to him in any degree of honour; and then especially, when appointed lord protector of the realm, *he was all but king, or rather esteemed by every one as the king of the king.*

After telling Calvin of the duke's having become lukewarm in the service of Christ and having served his own interests rather than those of God, Bourgoyne continues with the story of Thomas Seymour's death, saying:

And, as I have diligently been informed by those who saw and heard these things, after that murder had been perpetrated, our duke was no longer like himself, but began to labour under those misfortunes which I have above hinted at. And not long after there followed those disturbances which made him, from being the lord protector of the kingdom, a miserable prisoner universally detested and despised.[1]

There can be little doubt that the Reformation writers thought of the Duke as having fallen through pride and the arrogance which came with being "the king of the king." Furthermore chroniclers from varied points of view saw the strife between the brothers as destructive to Somerset as well as to his brother.[2]

Of Somerset's clemency too freely exercised we find record in the articles objected against him by the Council:

3 Also, you caused diuers persons being arested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felonie, to be discharged and set at large, against the kinges lawes, and statutes of this Realme.[3]

Paget dared to warn Somerset as his friend that he was buying his popularity with the commons at too dear a price, when he wrote him under date of July 7, 1549:

What seeth your Grace over the Kings subjects out of al disciplin, out of obedience, caring neither for Protector nor King, and much les for any other

[1] *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation* (Parker Society Publications), Pt. II, pp. 733–37. The italics are mine.

[2] On this point see A. F. Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset* (1900), pp. 177–99.

[3] The charges are recorded in full in the 1576 edition of Foxe, p. 1320.

mean officer. And what is the cause? Your own lenity, your softnes, your opinion to be good to the poor; the opinion of such as saith to your Grace, Oh! Sir, there was never man had the hearts of the poor as you have.

. . . The foot taketh upon him the part of the head, and *commyns* [meaning the commons] is become a king; . . . Alas! alas! . . . And so have your pardons given evil men a boldnes to enterprize as they do, and cause them to think you dare not meddle with them, but are glad to please them.[1]

Among the signatories to the first proclamation against the Lord Protector are to be noted Lord Rich, the then Lord Chancellor; Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who had been deprived of the chancellorship and who never forgave Somerset; and the Earl of Warwick, later Duke of Northumberland, and persistent enemy to Somerset. But yet the Duke's enemies did not prevail against him. Like Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, he escaped from his enemies, only to be finally conquered after two years of liberty.

The most striking resemblance between the two dukes was, however, the fact that the real difficulties of each seem to have been laid by their contemporaries upon the indiscretions of a wife. That Somerset's contemporaries believed his troubles to have had their source in the contention for power and precedence between his duchess and his brother's wife, Queen Katherine Parr, there cannot be the slightest doubt. A tract attributed to Wriothesley's authorship makes reference to the pernicious influence of the Protector's wife, "that imperious and insolent woman his wif, whose ambytyous wytt and mychevous perswasions ledd hym and dyrectyd hym even allso in the weighty affaires and gouernement of the realme to the grete harme and dishonour of the same and to the more grete perill of the kinge oure souereign lordes estate as is apparaunt by the sequele thereof."[2]

Sir James Melville in his *Memoirs* wrote of the craft of Northumberland:

Wherby till bring his purpos till pass at his plesour, first he failed not be practis till place sundre of his frendis in court and consaill, and in offices; this being done, to dyuyse the destruction of the Protectour, sterit vp discention betwen him and his only brother the Admyrall, be the meanis of ther

[1] This letter from Sir William Paget to Somerset bears the date July 7, 1549, and is printed in full in John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, . . . (1822), II, Pt. II, 429–37.

[2] *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Seventh Report, Appendix, p. 607.

wyves, sa schone as he persauit emulation enter betwen the twa wyues, for honour and preeminence. The Admyrall had maried the lait Quene, a widow and last wyf to K. Hary the viij; wha in his tym had sex wyues, of the quhilkis tua wer repudiat, tua wer behedit, and the mother of K. Edward dyed, when the barne was cuttid out of hir womb, and this the Admyralis wyf lyued efter him; alleging because sche was quene, that sche suld pass before, and haue the honour abone the Protectours wyff; wha on the other part allegit hir self to be the wyff to the eldest brother, Duc of Somerset, Protectour and Gouernour for the tym ouer the K. and contre. This vain stryf was sa helpit and entertenied, be the moyen of Northumberland, that it engendred first gret hattrent betwen the twa ladyes, and efterwart betwen the twa brether ther husbandis, sterit vp be them. Wherupon occasion was tane till won false witnessis till accuse the Admyrall of conspyracy against the Kingis persone, the maist part of the juges or sysers being chosen be the Duc of Northumberland, with easy consent of the Protectour, wha semply respected nathing bot the Kingis weill and surete, and parsauit not the enuyous pretencis of his hid compeditour. Be thir juges the Admyrall was condemnit to dye. He being out of the way, not lang efter a false allarme was geuen to the court, or ane bruit of ane enterpryse invented be the Duc of Northumberland, quhilk causit the Protectour hastely till put on his armour, for deffence of the K. and him self; for the quhilk he was delated and accused be sic as wer at the deuotion of Northumberland, and condemnit to dy as a traitour to the K. for putteing on his armour in the Kingis palice. The gud lord said he was content to dye, gif that mycht stand other the K. or contre in sted for any proffitable exemple. Now he being out of the way, the Duc of Northumberland tryumphed, and reuled all at his plesour, . . .[1]

In the Spanish *State Papers* we find Van der Delft writing to the Emperor on October 8, 1549, of the difficulties between the Protector and the Council. The Protector, Van der Delft writes, insists he is falsely accused, "but about five in the afternoon he sent his wife off to her house, and she went out weeping, very badly handled in words by the courtiers and peasants, who put all this trouble down to her." [2] Previously, on August 13 of the same year, Van der Delft had written of his interview with Paget concerning Somerset:

[1] Sir James Melville, *Memoirs of His Own Life* (published by the Bannatyne Club, 1827), pp. 53–55.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers*, Spanish, 1547–49, p. 457.

Thus I could not hide from Paget that I considered him personally to blame for all the evil that had befallen this kingdom, since he had been the principal instrument in setting us up a Protector who would certainly never do any good. In reply to this Paget said: "He has a bad wife." And I rejoined that that amounted to a confession of his unworthiness, since he allowed himself to be ruled by his wife.[1]

The same story of the Duchess as the cause of the Duke's downfall, of her rivalry with the Queen (Katherine Parr), her sister-in-law, and of the Queen's enmity to the Duke is repeated by Foxe and by countless others, many of whom undoubtedly followed unquestioningly the old gossip; but the gossip is too universal to be ignored, and here it seems of the greatest importance in identifying the careers of the two dukes.[2] Our evidence for happenings during the reign of Edward is scant, but that Katherine Parr was at least potentially an enemy of the Protector and certainly a peppery critic of his wife is attested in a letter which she wrote to Thomas Seymour:

My Lord,

THYS schalbe to advertysche yow, that my Lord your Brother hathe thys Afternone a lyttell made me warme. Yt was fortunate we war so muche dystant, for I suppose els I schulde have bytten hym. What cause have they to feare havyng suche a Wyff? Yt ys requysyte for them contynually to pray for a schorte Dyspatche of that Hell. To morowe, or els apon *Satterday* at Afternone about thre a Clocke I wyll se the Kynge, wher I intend to utter all my coler to my Lord your Brother, yf yow schall not gyve me Advyse to the contrary; . . .[3]

That the relation between the young King and his stepmother was favorable to her influence cannot be doubted by anyone who reads his letter to her upon the occasion of her remarriage, but how far the Queen of Henry VI is to be considered as picturing Queen Katherine Parr it is not possible to say. However, an interesting slip in Latimer's second sermon before Edward VI in 1549 may be noted. Latimer is pointing out the lessons taught by the reign of Henry VI, and he

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 429.

[2] Foxe stresses the enmity between the wives of the two brothers, in all the later editions of his work. Such writers as Sir John Hayward accept it unquestioningly. Strype (*op. cit.*, II, Pt. II, 188) questions the disinterestedness of the report. See Pollard, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

[3] Haynes, *State Papers*, p. 61.

specifically comments upon the enmity of the Bishop of Winchester to the Protector, Duke Humphrey, and tells how the Bishop worked upon the Queen to aggravate her enmity to the Protector:

Vpon thys the bishop goeth me to the quene Katherin the kinges wife, a proud woman and a stout, and perswaded hir that if ye duke were in such authoritie styl, and lyued, ye people wold honor him more then they dyd the king. . . .[1]

Henry VI's wife was of course Queen Margaret, not Queen Katherine. The significant point is that *Katherin* is here substituted for *Margaret*, whether accidentally or intentionally, in the early editions of Latimer's sermons, and I strongly suspect that the slip seemed significant to his listeners.

Furthermore it is quite certain that one of the most influential charges against Thomas Seymour was the charge that he tried to influence the young King to take upon himself the rights and duties of a mature king, thus hoping to minimize the authority of the Protector, for the King himself deposed in 1548 when Seymour's guilt was under consideration:

The Lorde Admyrall cam to me in the Tyme of the last Parliament at *Westminster*, and desyred me to wryght a Thing for hym. I asked hym what: He sayd it was none yll Thing, it is for the Quene's Majesty. I sayd if it were good, the Lords wold allow it; if it were yll, I wold not wryght in it. . . .

At another Tyme within this two Yere at lest, he sayd, ye must take apon you yourself to rule, for ye shall be hable enough as well as other Kyngs; and than ye may geve your Men sumwhat; for your Unkell is olde, and I trust wyll not lyve long. I answered, it were better that he shuld dye. Than he sayd, ye ar but even a very beggarly Kyng now, ye have not to play or to geve to your Servaunts.[2]

Latimer in his fifth sermon bitterly attacked Thomas Seymour on many points, this among them:

. . . He confessed one facte, he woulde haue hadde the gouernaunce of the kynges maiestye. And wot ye why? He sayed he would not in his minoritie

[1] *Seven Sermons before Edward VI, . . .* (Arber reprint), p. 63.
[2] Haynes, *op. cit.*, p. 74. The use of the Queen's name should be noted here.

haue hym brought vp lyke a warde. I am sure he hath bene brought vp so Godly, wyth such Sholemaysters as neuer kynge was in Englande, . . .[1]

So far, it seems to me there can be no dispute that the story of Somerset taught the same lessons as that of good Duke Humphrey. Through pride and arrogance he erred. He allowed himself to be set against his brother. Through his wife his fall was brought about. She made the Queen her enemy. The Queen connived with the Protector's enemies to effect his ruin, one of their chief devices being to persuade the child King that he should not be ruled like a pupil. He bought too dearly his popularity with the commons.

So much is clear, but the tragedy of Duke Humphrey says that his downfall was really begun by the infamy of his wife's dealings with necromancers and sorcerers and, worst of all, by her practices with the waxen image. Historians generally pass by such matters, but it may be well to note certain facts, in view of Gloucester's story and the closeness with which it parallels that of Somerset. We know from the examination of Anne Askew in 1546 that she was racked to make her confess those of the court who had assisted her when she was in prison on charges of witchcraft. We know that the Countess of Hertford (later through her husband's elevation to be Duchess of Somerset) was accused of having sent money and comforts, and Bishop Bale afterward attacked both Wriothesley and Rich for their defaming rather than praising such Christian charity, affirming specifically that "Wrisley and Rich, insatiably thirsted, . . . the blood of the noble duchess of Suffolk, the blood of the worthy countess of Hertford, . . ." [2]

I have already quoted Van der Delft's letter to the Emperor in which he described the rough handling that the Duchess got from the crowd as she went crying home from the Duke during his first troubles. At the time of his second fall the Duchess was sent to the Tower the next day after her husband's arrest. There she was kept throughout the reign of Edward VI, but she was released by Queen Mary, along with Bishop Gardiner and Edward Courtenay, almost immediately upon the Queen's arrival in London.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

[2] *Select Works of John Bale, D.D.* . . . (Parker Society, 1849), pp. 242, 243. Foxe and Holinshed are responsible for the story of Anne Askew's being used by Gardiner as a trap for Katherine Parr, from which the Queen escaped by her wit.

On March 9, 1552, after Somerset's execution, Martin Micronius wrote to Bullinger:

> I am afraid of a similar end to the wife of Somerset, who is said to bear a principal part in all this mischief.[1]

In November Thomas Norton wrote to Calvin concerning the children of Somerset and added:

> Their mother still remains in the prison, which we call the Tower of London. As she is guarded there with great care, we are ignorant as to what she is doing, or for what offence she is suffering. We hope, however, that she will shortly be set at liberty, because some parties are of opinion that she was not imprisoned for having committed a crime, but to prevent her from committing one; . . .

Norton also explained to Calvin that the children of the Duke of Somerset by this second marriage were by Parliament "deprived of the dukedom, earldom, and barony, as it is called, and also of any other titles of honour bestowed by reason of services rendered to the state; and that they should be reduced to the lowest rank of nobility."[2] Since Somerset's son by his first marriage was newly befriended and restored to lands of his mother's which had been sold by the Duke without her consent, the charge being made good out of the lands of Anne's children, there seems to have been much definite enmity to the Duchess herself.

Bishop Burnet comments at length on the proceedings, but I quote only the sentences relevant to the Duchess:

> There was a private bill put in about the duke of Somerset's estate, which had been by act of parliament entailed on his son in the 23rd year of the last king's reign. On the third of March it was sent to the house of commons, signed by the king; it was for the repeal of that act. Whether the king was so alienated from his uncle, that this extraordinary thing was done by him for the utter ruin of his family, or not, I cannot determine: but I rather incline to think it was done in hatred to the duchess of Somerset and her issue. For the estate was entailed on them by that act of parliament, in prejudice of the issue of the former marriage, of whom are descended the Seymours of

[1] *Original Letters*, Pt. II, p. 579.
[2] *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 339–42.

Devonshire: who were disinherited and excluded from the duke of Somerset's honours by his patents, and from his estate by act of parliament; partly upon some jealousies he had of his former wife, but chiefly by the power his second wife had over him.[1]

As for the charge of necromancy and sorcery, there can be little doubt that Somerset himself was concerned in undertakings that are strangely incongruous. That he used the conjurer's art to find plate that he had lost is attested by sworn evidence,[2] and that the conjurers "weare the soares off sedissyone and the distroyers of the too dukes" [Somerset and Northumberland] is alleged by Edward Underhill, the "*hoote gospellar*" and one of the band of Gentleman Pensioners.[3] Underhill also describes the famous Robert Allen, whom he apprehended and took before the Protector:

> . . . we . . . toke hym [Allen] with us unto his chamber, wheare we founde fygures sett to calke the nativetie off the kynge, and a jugementt gevyne off his deathe, wheroff this folyshe wreche thoughte hymselfe so sure thatt he and his conselars the papistes bruted it all over.

To offset this rumor the King passed through London, and Robert Allen with other offenders was put in the Tower, where he remained for more than a year.[4] At any rate the duchess was carefully locked up in the Tower of London for some secret crime, and she was kept there until a new Queen made new favorites of old political prisoners, as well as new political prisoners of old favorites.

Because Miss Feasey, like other students of the *Mirror*, has read the two tragedies of Humphrey and Elianor as though they were one, she has stressed the importance of the enmity of the Bishop-Chancellor to the Protector, finding here reflected the enmity of Gardiner for Somerset. Now as a matter of fact, the tragedy of Duke Humphrey does not stress to any such extent as does the tragedy of Elianor

[1] Burnet (1865 ed.), II, 327–28.

[2] *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, . . . (Camden Society Publications, 1859), Appendix, p. 331.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 159, in "Autobiographical Anecdotes of Edward Underhill, . . ."

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 172–75, and Appendix, pp. 326–33. See also Strype, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. 1, 176–83, for an account of Underhill's activity in discovering Allen's misdeeds. In this connection the visit of Jerome Cardan to the court of Edward VI in 1552, where as the guest of Sir John Cheke he cast the nativity of the King, should not be forgotten.

Cobham the enmity of the chancellor who was Bishop of Winchester. And a student of the period certainly would not select Gardiner as the arch enemy of Somerset. It was rather Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton and Chancellor of England until he was deprived of that office as preliminary to Somerset's full development of his power, who was generally recognized as the arch enemy of the Protector.[1] I quote from A. F. Pollard's article on Wriothesley, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*:

> Southampton, however, nursed his grievance against the Protector, and it is significant that the first occasion on which he again comes prominently forward was when he joined Warwick and other enemies of the Protector in the proceedings against his brother Thomas Seymour, baron Seymour of Sudeley, in January and February 1548–9. He was no less prominent in the intrigues which led to the fall of the Protector himself in the following October. In September, when the king moved to Hampton Court, Southampton remained in London, and at his house in Ely Place many of the secret meetings of the councillors were held; Burnet, indeed, represents Southampton as the prime mover in the conspiracy, and Warwick as merely his accomplice or even his tool. Personal motives as well as antipathy to the Protector's religious and social policy dictated his action. He was present at all the meetings of the council in London from 6 to 11 Oct., and accompanied the majority of the councillors to Windsor to arrest Somerset. He was then appointed one of the lords to be in special attendance upon the young king, . . .

His successor Rich was also generally favorable to the disastrous plans of the Duke of Northumberland, but Gardiner was sent to the Fleet, was released on January 8, 1547–48, was sent to the Tower on June 30 of that year, and for two and a half years awaited trial there. He did not finally leave the Tower until Mary rescued him in 1553 and made him her Lord Chancellor. Gardiner was, therefore, neither chancellor during Edward's reign nor chief enemy of Somerset according to the

[1] Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and later Duke of Northumberland, is certainly figured in the *Mirror* in the tragedy of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, which tragedy directly follows that of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. It was Northumberland who was finally recognized as the cause of the fall of the Seymours, but Wriothesley, as I have here shown, was the effective agent to bring about the first loss of power and imprisonment for the Duke of Somerset. See in this connection Bishop Ponet's *A Short Treatise of politike power* (1556), p. 131.

thinking of his day.[1] In fact, the interference of Somerset in behalf of Gardiner in 1551 was brought against him in his troubles of that year. Gardiner was Bishop of Winchester, but he was not chancellor. Wriothesley, though not a churchman, had been chancellor, and he was obviously the enemy of Somerset. In the Elianor Cobham tragedy, on the other hand, Gardiner is certainly identified with the enemy Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor.

That George Ferrers found in the tale of Duke Humphrey convincing proof that history repeats itself would seem to be evident. He identified Duke Humphrey as the Duke of Somerset who by practice of enemies was brought to his fall. He found the Duke's own pride to have caused him to be victim of his enemies. He proved that strife between the kinsmen of a king is disastrous. Somerset's troubles had been brought about through the jealous rivalries for pre-eminence between his wife and the Queen. The first attempts of his enemies were unsuccessful, but at last he fell through treachery. He had played for popularity with the commons, and it was charged that he was too lenient. The Queen had helped his enemies to convince the young King that he was governed too much like a ward and was allowed to exercise too little of the power that was his as a king. In all this, the interpretation and the teaching found by the contemporaries of Somerset inherent in his story were strictly adhered to in the *Mirror*. In this tragedy, at least, it fulfilled its announced purpose.

The tragedy of Elianor Cobham, as I have already had occasion to recall to the reader, was first printed as a cancel in the 1578 edition of the *Mirror*, and like that of Duke Humphrey was written by George Ferrers, according to the specific evidence of the prose links connecting the tragedies of the *Mirror*. In tracing the history of this tragedy I have come upon a most curious piece of unrecorded history linking this same George Ferrers with the Princess (later Queen) Elizabeth and Dr. John Dee. But not to anticipate my findings, I need to recall the outlines of this second tragedy to make it quite clear that the tragedy of Elianor Cobham differs in purpose and content from that of Gloucester:

[1] P. F. Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, . . . (1839), II, 21–26.

(1) The Duchess warns that pride will have a fall. She, though of baron's blood, was thought unworthy to match with one of such high estate as that of the Duke, but was yet made his wife. (His marriage with the Lady Jaquet had been pronounced no marriage by the Pope.) Her state and place advanced next the Queen, she became inflamed with pride. Stanzas 1–11.

(2) Not content, she longed to bear the name of Queen and sought the help of the Witch of Ey and that of two priests, Bolenbroke and Southwell. They undertook to discover, by casting the nativity of the King and by divining, who should succeed him. Further they did not go, and they did not practice against the life of the King. Stanzas 12–16.

(3) The sin being light, the punishment was yet heavy. "Cayphas our Cardinal," bearing a spite to the Duke, called all the actors before him (the Duke excepted) and decreed shame and banishment to her, "a Princesse next the Quene." Depriving her of her property rights, they sent her into exile and then murdered the Duke. When she heard of his most causeless death, she knew that she could only strive for patience, for her hurt could not be cured. Stanzas 17–25.

(4) She berates and curses the Bishop of Winchester as the author of evil, for nine stanzas, concluding:

> And god forgeue my wrath and wreakful mynde
> Such is my hate to that most wicked wretch
> Dye when he shal, in hart I could wel fynd
> Out of the graue his corps againe to fetch
> And racke his lymmes as long as they would stretch
> And take delyte to listen euery daye
> How he could sing a masse of welawaye
>
> The yle of Man was the appointed place
> To penance mee for euer in exile
> Thither in hast they poasted me apace,
> And doubtinge skape, they pind me in a Pyle
> Close by my selfe in care, alas the whyle
> There felt I fyrst pore prisoners hungry fare,
> Much want, thinges skant, and stone walls hard and bare
>
> The change was strange, from silke and cloth of Gold
> To rugged fryze my carcas for to cloathe,
> From princes fare, and dayntyes hot and cold,
> To rotten fish, and meates that one would loathe
> The dyet and dressing were mutch a lyke boath
> Bedding and lodging were all alike fyne,
> Such Down it was, as serued wel for swyne. Stanzas 26–36.

(5) She bewails, more than her own fate, that of her husband, lamenting the fact that her fault had brought about his death:

> And my mishap most bitterly do banne,
> That euer I to such a noble man,
> Who from my cryme was innocent and cleare,
> Shoulde be a cause to buy his loue so deare

She wishes that she had been buried before he saw her, she says farewell to Greenwich and to Kent, she tells of her nights of agony when she thinks she hears the cry of the Duke to save him from death, she thinks sometimes she sees his ghost appearing to show her the manner of his death,

> So as no doubt or question should aryse
> Amonges rude folke which little vnderstande,
> But that his death came onely by gods hand

Again she bewails her fate and at last again concludes that pride will have a fall. Stanzas 37–47.

It is at once apparent that this story differs from the first in essential facts as well as in the points which it stresses:

Elianor here speaks of herself frequently, and indeed regularly, as a princess.

Elianor insists that she went no further than trying with the aid of her accomplices to divine the future by casting the nativity of the King.

She lays all her misfortune to the Bishop of Winchester, on whom she expends nine solid stanzas in a violent hymn of hate.

She particularly stresses the hard conditions of her confinement, the poor food, the cold, bare stone walls.

She speaks of the death of the Duke as being villainously arranged among rude people who little understand and who raise no question that his death came only by God's hand.

She bewails the impossibility of being buried near him. She cannot hope to have her sepulture near him, "But in an yle, and country most obscure."

The significant point is that the facts so emphasized were not facts relevant to the story of Somerset any more than they were to the story of Duke Humphrey and Elianor Cobham his wife. But on examination they prove to be very close to the facts which emerge concerning the life of the young Princess Elizabeth (later Queen Elizabeth) in the

years 1554–56. That the first eleven stanzas do not have any bearing on the life of the Princess Elizabeth would appear to be self-evident, but they follow so accurately the fortunes of Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, that I am inclined to think that Ferrers merged the two stories, or he may have written the story first to tell about Anne Boleyn herself, and then have revised it.[1] At any rate, from stanza 12 onward the story of the young Elizabeth seems clearly indicated. It is now not a duchess but "a Princesse next the Quene" of whom he writes.

To get clearly the fortunes of the young Elizabeth before us, I have chosen to recite the meager story from Grafton, whose *Chronicle* records, near the close of the account of Wyatt's rebellion:

> The .xv. day of March next folowing, the Lady Elizabeth the Queenes sister, and next heire to the Crowne, was apprehended at her Manor of Ashridge for suspicion of Wyattes conspiracie, and from thence being that tyme very sicke, was with great rygor brought prisoner to London, & shortly after committed to the Tower, where also the Lord Courtnay Erle of Deuonshire (of whome before is made mention) was for the like suspicion committed prisoner.[2]

Grafton likewise records:

> . . . hee [Wyatt] being on the Scaffold redie to suffer, he declared that the Ladie Elizabeth and syr Edward Courtney Erle of Deuonshire whome he had accused before (as it seemed) were neuer priuie to his doings so farre as he knewe, or was able to charge them. And when Doctor Weston beyng then his confessor tolde him that he had confessed the contrarie vnto the counsayle: he aunswered thus, that I sayd then I sayd: But that which I say now, is true. . . .

[1] The story of Anne Boleyn up to this point fits the picture so exactly that the likeness cannot be passed over. She was of "Barons bloud"; through Dame Venus's lures in her eyes "this great Prince with out respect of state" did consider her worthy to be his wedded mate. Henry VIII's earlier marriage "fel out, to be no matrimony," after a time of "war, long sute in law and strife." For an account of the alleged precontract with Lord Percy, the son of the Duke of Northumberland, and of Cardinal Wolsey's interference in behalf of the King, of Anne's consequent enmity to the Cardinal-Chancellor, and of her pride as she was advanced to favors at court, see Cavendish, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (ed. S. W. Singer; 1825), II, 1338, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth* (1683), pp. 285–87.

[2] Vol. II (1568), p. 1338.

The .xix. day of Maye next following the Ladye Elizabeth Sister to Queene Mary was deliuered out of the Tower and committed to the custodie of Sir John Williams knight, afterward Lorde Williams of Tame, by whome her grace was more curteously entreated, then some woulde: wherefore shortely after she was committed to the Maner of Woodstocke vnder the custodye of sir Henry Benyngfielde of Oxenborough in the countie of Norffolffe knight, at whose hands she found not the like curtesy: Who . . . vsed his office more like a Gaylor, then a Gentleman . . .[1]

A little later Grafton recites the last of Courtenay's story:

About this time Edward Courtney Erle of Deuonshire of whome before ye haue heard, was delyuered out of the Tower, and was licenced to depart into Italy, where shortly after he ended his life, beyng sick and dead in lesse then .xiiij. dayes, & was honorably buried at Padway. This Courtney was the onely sonne and heyre of Henry Marques of Excester, Cosyn Germayne to king Henry the eyght as is sayde before, for the sayde king and he were dissended of two sisters Elizabeth and Katheryn, two of the daughters of king Edward the fourth, which propinquitie of bloud notwithstanding, the sayd Marques for poynts of treason layde agaynst him suffred at the Tower hill the .xxx. yere of the reigne of king Henry the eyght, to the great dolour of the most of the subiectes of this realme, who for his sundrie vertues bare him great fauour. After whose death thys yong gentleman his sonne beyng yet a child was committed prisoner to the Tower, where he remained vntill the beginning of the reigne of this Queene Mary as before you haue heard. This gentleman as it appered was borne to be a prisoner, for from twelue yeres of age vnto .xxx. he had scarse two yeres liberty, within the which time he dyed, and obteyned quiet, which in his lyfe he coulde neuer haue.[2]

The truth or the falsity of the charge against Elizabeth and Courtenay as concerned with Wyatt's rebellion is not here in point, even if it were possible to settle it. What is important is to note the setting of the story as we take it up in the account which Dr. John Dee offered to the representatives of the Queen as part of his justification in asking in 1592 for certain succor from the Queen.[3] He offered in evidence the following:

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1342. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 1348.

[3] *The compendious rehearsal of John Dee his dutifull declaration, and proofe of the course and race of his studious life, for the space of halfe an hundred years, now (by God's favour and help) fully spent, and of the very great injuries, damages, and indignities, which for these last nine*

Before her Majestie's coming to the Crown, I did shew my dutifull good will in some travailes for her Majestie's behalfe, to the comfort of her Majestie's favourers then, and some of her principal servants, at Woodstock, and at Milton by Oxford, with Sir Thomas Bemger, (then Auditor unto her Majestie) and at London; as Mr Richard Strange and Mr John Asheley, now Master of her Majestie's Jewel house, might have testified, and as I could have brought to their remembrance.

Upon suspicion of which my service then, and upon the false information given in by one George Ferrys and Prideaux, that I endeavored by enchantments to destroy Queen Mary, I was prisoner at Hampton Court, even in the week next before the same Whitsuntide, that her Majestie was there prisoner also. I remained long prisoner, and all doores of my Lodgings in London sealed up; . . .

Dee says that he was brought before Secretary Bourn, that he was made to answer, first four and then eighteen more, questions in writing from the Privy Council, that he was sent before the Justice of the Common Pleas and finally before the Star Chamber, and that, being at last discharged from suspicion of treason, he was sent to Bishop Bonner for religious matters. Even after he was released on August 19, 1555, he was still bound to the Council for his appearance.

Meanwhile Thomas Martyn writes to Courtenay on June 8, 1555:

In England all is quiet. Such as wrote traitorous letters unto Germany be apprehended, as likewise others that did calculate the King's and Queen's and my Lady Elizabeth's nativity; whereof one Dee, and Cary, and Butler, and one other of my Lady Elizabeth's, are accused, and that they should have a familiar spirit; which is the more suspected, for that Ferys, one of their accusers, had, immediately upon the accusation, both his children strucken, the one with present death, the other with blindness.[1]

In the acts of the Privy Council the reader can follow the tale with accuracy. In May and June of 1555 we find Sir Thomas Benger, Christopher Cary, Dr. John Dee, and John Field put under the guard

*years he hath in England sustained, (contrary to her Majestie's very gracious will and expresse commandment) made unto the two honourable Commissioners, by her most excellent Majestie thereto assigned, according to the intent of the most humble supplication of the said John, exhibited to her most gracious Majestie at Hampton-Court. A. 1592. Nov*r*. 9.* Printed as an appendix to Thomas Hearne's edition (1726) of John of Glastonbury's *Chronicle*, II, 497 ff. See especially pp. 519–20.

[1] Tytler, *op. cit.*, II, 479.

of various high officers of the state. On June 5, 1555, from Hampton Court we find recorded:

A lettre to the Lord Northe, Mr. Secretarie Bourne and the Master of the Rolles, Sir Fraunces Englefelde, Sir Richard Reade and Doctour Hughes, auctorising them, or two or three of them at least, to proceade to a further examinacion of Benger, Carye, Dye and Felde, uppon suche poyntes as by thier wisdomes they shall gather out of thier former confessions towching thiere lewde and vayne practises of calculing and conjuring presently sent unto them with the saide lettres; willing and requiring them further as they shall by thier examynacions perceive any other man or woman towched in thies or the like matters, to cause them to be fourthwith apprehended and committed, to be further ordered according to justice.

It is also interesting to note in this connection that the Privy Council sent out on the previous day, June 4, from Hampton Court,

A lettre to Edwarde Chamberlain to signifie hither whether George Ferrers, who was sent unto him for thapprehension of oone Stanney, hath byn as yet with him, and what is doone herein, or yf he hath not byn with him thenne to retourne this messenger, and send fourthe sum suche as he trusteth to searche for the said Ferrers into the counties of Oxon, Stafford, Warwick and Wigorn.[1]

It would seem that the Council was not quite sure of its informant, George Ferrers, and wished to keep him within reach.

However that may be, it is quite certain that George Ferrers, the author of the tragedy of Elianor Cobham, was one of two informants to the Privy Council concerning the calculating and conjuring of the Princess Elizabeth and her frequently consulted astrologer, Dr. John Dee.[2] Ferrers, the informant, has as author given an exact picture of

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council* for 1554 and 1555, pp. 142–43. See also letters dated from May 18 to August 29, 1555, on pp. 137 ff.

[2] For Dr. Dee's continued association with the affairs of Queen Elizabeth, see the *Compendious rehearsal* cited above; also the preface to the *General and rare memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Nauigation* (1577) and *A Letter, . . . Containing a most briefe Discourse Apologetical* (1595). This last was republished in 1604 with verses addressed to the House of Commons thanking it for its act, which act is explained in a marginal reference as "*An Act* generall against Sclaunder, and a speciall penall Order *for* Iohn Dee *his case*." In this edition also is printed a petition of Dee to King James, dated June 5, 1604, in which petition Dee asks that he may be tried and acquitted either in the royal presence or before the Privy Council, or before Parliament, "of that horrible and damnable, and to him, most

Elizabeth in his tale of Elianor Cobham. The young Princess next the Queen was anxious to know the future. She called Dr. John Dee, as she was to call him many times later, to assist her. With his aid and that of certain of her household, the nativity of King Philip and Queen Mary and others was calculated, and it was charged that they also had a familiar spirit. There is nothing said by Elianor Cobham of a wax image, that part of the historical Elianor's story being irrelevant to the story of Elizabeth.

Of Elianor's sufferings at the hands of the Bishop of Winchester, who was her persecutor, much needs to be said, however, for the identification of the Bishop of Winchester, Beaufort, with the Bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, is almost indisputable. There was absolute unanimity among the early sympathizers with Elizabeth in their decrying the practices of Bishop Gardiner, Lord Chancellor under Queen Mary. Foxe calls him "alwayes a capitall enemie to the Lady Elizabeth." Sir John Harrington wrote:

> Lastly, the plots he laid to entrap the Lady *Elizabeth*, his terrible hard usage of all her followers, I cannot yet scarce think of with charity, nor write of with patience.
>
> My father, onely for carrying a Letter to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and professing to wish her well, he kept in the Tower 12 moneths, and made him spend a thousand pounds ere he could be free of that trouble. My mother, that then served the said Lady *Elizabeth*, he caused to be sequestred from her as an heretick, insomuch that her own father durst not take her into his house, . . .[1]

grieuous and dammageable Sclaunder: generally, and for these many yeeres last past, in this Kingdome raysed, and continued, by report, and Print, against him: Namely, That he is, or hath bin a *Coniurer*, or *Caller*, or *Invocator* of diuels: . . . some impudent and malicious forraine enemie, or English traytor to the florishing State and Honor of this Kingdome, hath in Print (*Anno* 1592. 7. *Ianuarij*) affirmed your Maiesties said Suppliant, to be the *Coniurer* belonging to the most Honorable Priuie Counsell, of your Maiesties most famous last Predecessor, (*Queene Elizabeth*) . . ."

It is interesting to note that, according to the editor of Foxe's great work, the name of Dr. John Dee was suppressed in every instance after the first Latin edition of 1559 and the first English edition of 1563. (*The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. by the Rev. George Townsend [1847], VII, 756.)

[1] *A Briefe View of the State of the Church of England*, . . . printed in *Nugae Antiquae* (1779), I, 51–52. Harrington in order to be fair gives what good can be said of Gardiner and records (pp. 56–61) an elegy in praise of Gardiner by one Mr. Prideaux, which fact is interesting in this connection, since "Prideaux" was the name of Ferrers' fellow informant.

Of the conditions of Elizabeth's imprisonment much has been written to justify the outbreak of Elianor Cobham against the poor fare and the hard treatment which she endured. Again quoting Foxe, we find her sympathizers resenting her hard treatment:

That daye or there aboutes, diuers of her own officers, who had made prouision for her diet, brought the same to the vtter gate of the Tower, the common rascall souldiers receiuing it, which was no small greefe vnto the gentlemen, the bringers therof.

But their protests were answered by the Lord Chamberlain:

. . . I assure you, for that shee is a prisoner, she shal be serued with the Lieutenauntes men as other the prisoners are.

The rule was relaxed only after the most persistent and patient effort on the part of the loyal. For a month Elizabeth was not allowed outside her prison. After earnest solicitation she was finally permitted to extend her walk to the Queen's apartment, and ultimately to the garden, "the dores and gates being shut vp," and all the prisoners forbidden to speak with her on any excuse.

Foxe tells us too that Elizabeth arrived at Woodstock

. . . where she was inclosed, as before in the tower of London, the souldiers garding and warding, both within and without the walles, euery daye to the number of three score: and in the night without the walles .xl. duringe the tyme of her imprisonment there. At length she had gardens appointed for her walke, whiche was verye comfortable to her grace. But alwayes when she did recreate her selfe therein, the doores were fast locked vp, in as straight maner, as they wer in the tower, being at the least .v. or .vi. lockes betwene her lodging and her walkes.[1]

Of the fire which broke out in her chamber, of the miscarriage of one Basset's venture at murdering the princess, of the Council's writ ordering her execution which was stayed by the interposition of the Lieutenant of the Tower, who went to Queen Mary in the matter — of

[1] The story of Elizabeth's troubles is told by Foxe, 1563 ed., fols. 1711–16. The quotations above are from fol. 1712, verso, and fol. 1713, recto.

such tales Foxe among others tells enough to show that the life of Elizabeth was as uncomfortable and as insecure as that which Elianor Cobham bewails.

The most significant change in the tragedy related by Elianor Cobham, however, is that she describes the Duke as dying among "rude folke which little vnderstande, / But that his death came onely by gods hand." She bewails her fate that keeps her so far away from him in death. Now, this part of her story must certainly have been modified for the sake of its contemporary application.[1] The prose link which follows Duke Humphrey's tragedy specifically says that the murder was resented by the people:

. . . you shal heare what I haue noted in ye Duke of Suffolkes doinges, one of the chiefe procurours of Duke Humfreyes destruction, who by the prouidence of God came shortly after in such hatred of ye people, that the king himselfe could not saue him from a straunge and notable death. For beeing banisht . . . to appease the continual rumours and inward grudges, that not onely the commons, but most part of the nobilitie of England, bare towardes him for the death of the sayde Duke, he . . .

The tragedy of the Duke of Suffolk in the *Mirror* clearly tells the story of the Duke of Northumberland, the enemy of Somerset, but it does not link itself to the story of Duke Humphrey as that story is told by Elianor Cobham. The death of the Duke far away from his Duchess, among rude folk who suspect no evil, is scarcely a possible version of

[1] Grafton (II, 597) writes of Duke Humphrey's death: "The Duke the night after his imprisonment, was found dead in his bed, being the .xxiiij. day of Februarij, and his bodye shewed to the Lordes and commons, as though he had died of a palsey or impostume: but all indifferent persons well knewe, that he died of no naturall death, but of some violent force: some iudged him to be strangled: some affirme that a hote spit was put in at his fundament: other write, that he was stiffeled or smoldered betwene two featherbeds. After whose death, none of his seruauntes (although they were arraigned and attainted) were put to death: for the Duke of Suffolke, when they should haue beene executed, shewed openly their pardon, but this doyng appeased not the grudge of the people, which sayde that the pardon of the seruaunts was no amendes for murdreing of their master. The dead corps of this Duke was caryed to saint Albons, and there honorably buryed. Thus thys noble Prince, *Sonne, brother, and Vncle to kinges*, . . . was by a bone cast by his enemies, choked and brought to his fatall fine, and last ende. So all men may openly see, that to men in aucthoritie, no place, no not the Courte the chiefe refuge of all, nor the dwelling house, nor yet a mans priuie Castell, or his bed ordeyned for his quietnesse, is out of the daunger of deaths dart."

The italicized phrasing is identical with that of Gloucester's tragedy in the *Mirror*.

the death of Somerset. It is, however, a very possible version of the story of Elizabeth and Courtenay.

Courtenay himself had pretensions to the crown. Many desired Elizabeth's marriage to Courtenay to take place.[1] That she was indeed married to Courtenay was a persistent rumor. Added difficulty came in the imposture of one Cleobury, who returned to England, pretended to be Courtenay, and proclaimed in the church of Yaxley "the lady Elizabeth queen, and her beloved bed-fellow, Lord Edward Courtenay, king."[2] At any rate the two were linked together in their suspected connection with Wyatt's rebellion and with the uprising of the West under Peter and Gawen Carew. And quite certain it is that the description of the Duke's death as Ferrers puts it into the mouth of Elianor is a true description of the death of Courtenay, far away from his princess, treasonably done to death where there was none to suspect foul play, paying indeed a heavy price for the love of his princess.

Not the least intriguing fact about the Elianor-Elizabeth version is the fact that George Ferrers, the informant against Elizabeth to the Privy Council, was also the author of the story in the *Mirror*.

Just why it was found possible to publish, first the Duke Humphrey version of the story and then the Elianor Cobham version also, in 1578, when it was not possible to do so in 1571, I am not prepared to argue in this place; but certainly it would seem that in 1578 the use of wax images in practices against the King — or rather the Queen — was of immediate interest, for we hear in the *Acts of the Privy Council* of the events which are recorded in more condensed version in a letter of Bernardino de Mendoza on September 8, 1578:

A very curious thing has happened here lately. A countryman has found, buried in a stable, three wax figures, two spans high and proportionately broad; the centre figure had the word Elizabeth written on the forehead and the side figures were dressed like her councillors, and were covered over with

[1] The events of Courtenay's remarkable career and the accounts of his proposed marriage with Elizabeth can be followed in Froude, *History of England* (1906), V, 61, 101, 128–31, 335, 339, 405–6, 422 and note. See also especially *Calendar of State Papers*, Venetian (for 1555–56, pp. 44–45, 58, 142, 294–95, 392, 398–99, 424; for 1556–57, p. 1078), for an account of the relation of the proposed marriage to European diplomacy.

[2] See also Lingard, *History of England* (1854), V, 246; Lucy Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth* (1823), I, 209–10.

a great variety of different signs, the left side of the images being transfixed with a large quantity of pig's bristles as if it were some sort of witchcraft. When it reached the Queen's ears she was disturbed, . . .[1]

Apparently this is the occasion which Dr. Dee records as another cause for gratitude on the Queen's part:

My carefull and faithfull endeavour was with great speed required (as by diverse messages sent to me one after another in one morning) to prevent the mischief, which divers of her Majestie's Privy Council suspected to be intended against her Majestie's person, by means of a certain image of wax, with a great pin stuck into it about the breast of it, found in Lincoln's Inn fields *&c.* wherein I did satisfie her Majestie's desire, and the Lords of the honourable Privy Council within few houres, in godly and artificial manner: as the honourable, Mr. Secretary Wilson, whom, at the least, I required, to have by me a witnes of the proceedings: . . .[2]

The full significance attaching to the story of Elianor Cobham in the *Mirror for Magistrates* cannot be thoroughly appreciated, however, without reviewing something of the history of the story in this period. Elianor herself tells us in the *Mirror*:

> For sins my death, myne enmies made a Iest
> In minstrels ryme myne honour to deface.
> And then to bring my name in more disgrace
> A song was made in manner of a laye
> Which old wyues sing of me vnto this day.

A "Lament of the Duchess of Gloucester," preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript at Balliol College and printed in Thomas Wright's collection of *Political Poems and Songs*,[3] has for its most persistent refrain,

> Alle women may be ware by me.

This ballad, with its eight-line stanza, bears only a vague likeness to the later ballad preserved in Evans's *Old Ballads*, with its four-line stanza.[4] The first gives no account of Elianor's sins; the second tells

[1] *Calendar of State Papers*, Spanish, 1568–79, p. 611. See also *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1577–78, pp. 309, 322, 326.

[2] *Compendious rehearsal*, pp. 521–22.

[3] Rolls Series, 1861, II, 205–8.

[4] Thomas Evans, *Old Ballads* (1784), I, 317–23.

of spells and magic but does not refer specifically to the waxen image of the chronicle story.

At any rate the ballad was still being sung, in one form or other, when the *Mirror* was written. But the most interesting phase of the history of the story is its relation to Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.

The first English edition of that great work in 1563 recorded among the victims of persecution, "Sir Roger Onley knyght, and Ellenore Cobham, and the mother of the Lady Yonge." Of Elianor Cobham he attested specifically:

> Of the whiche sorte although there haue bene many whiche haue followed their spouse Christ by torments, banishment, and death, yet ye first in this nomber which cometh vnto our handes, Ellenore Cobham a woman nothing at all degenerating from her stock, kindred, & name, receiued of her auncesters, albeit that we can finde or vnderstande none other thing of her but that for suspicion of heresie, that is to say, for the loue and desire of the truth she was by the papists banished into the ile of man as Hardinge and Fabian do write.[1]

This was an opportunity which the Catholic spokesman could not be expected to overlook. When Foxe came to listing a witch as a Protestant martyr he was indeed on dangerous ground. Nicholas Harpsfield, writing under the protection of the name of Alan Cope, made reply in 1566 to Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* in his *Dialogi Sex Contra Summi Pontificatus, Monasticae Vitae, Sanctorum, Sacrarum Imaginum Oppugnatores, et Pseudomartyres*. In this serious work Harpsfield went at length into the question, considering Elianor Cobham among the martyrs. After a discussion of facts and sources he affirmed:

> universi quidem in hoc consentiunt, quòd propter violatae maiestatis crimen, id est, quia Magicis & execrandis artibus Regem è medio tollere cogitauerant, ad tribunal fuerint abrepti; de religione ne minima quidem mentio.[2]

Harpsfield's taunts in this particular portion of his reply seem to have caused Foxe considerable uneasiness, for in the next edition of his work in 1576, he made a lengthy and squirming answer, affirming the hasty scrambling together of his work, the brevity of the notice

[1] P. 371.

[2] Pp. 830–31.

given to Onely and Elianor Cobham, the fact that it was the Witch of Ey that really made the wax image, and the right that he had to tell a story anyway since he was not writing of martyrs but of rites and monuments of the church. Then he said his authority was Leland, and Leland's work he saw in the hands of John Bale, and why were not Leland and John Bale as good as Fabian and Hall anyway? Then he discussed the possibility that Onely and Bolingbroke were the same, and ultimately he set up at length his defense in ten headings, the gist of which is that it may be that Elianor and Onely were not guilty, though he does not wish to say that they were not, only that they may not have been. All the later editions of Foxe carried this elaborate defense of Elianor Cobham, and it must be remembered that Foxe made his defense just two years before the *Mirror* at last included the story of Elianor Cobham.[1]

The story was retold, in its most popular form, in the *First Part of the Contention*, but of the relation of Shakespeare's *Henry VI* to the tragedies of the *Mirror* I expect to say much more at an early date and forbear to do so here. Here I propose to leave Elianor's story with the quoting of the argument prefixed to her letter to Duke Humphrey, in Drayton's *Heroicall Epistles*,[2] where the effect of Foxe's disquisition must be apparent:

Elinor Cobham, daughter to the Lord Cobham of Sterborough, and wife to *Humfry Plantaginet* Duke of Glocester, the son of *Henry* the fourth, King of England, sirnamed *Bullingbrooke*. This noble Duke for his great wisedome and iustice called the good, was by King *Henry* the fift (brother to this Duke) at his death appointed protector of the Land, during the nonage of *Henry* the sixt; this *Elinor* Duches of Glocester, a proude and ambitious woman, knowing that if young *Henry* died without issue, the duke her husband was the neerest of the blood, conspired with one *Bullenbrooke*, (otherwise called *Onely* a great Magitian) *Hun* a priest, and *Iourdane* witch of Eye, by sorcery to make away the king, & by coniuration to know who should succeede. Of this beeing iustly conuicted, she was adiudged to do penance three seueral

[1] For the text of this argument, see Foxe (1563 ed.), fol. 371; Cope (or Harpsfield), pp. 829–35; Foxe (1576 ed.), pp. 676 ff.; N. D., *Three Conuersions of England* (1604), pp. 267, 268.

[2] Drayton's Elianor is made to be quite as eloquent in her curses bestowed on the Bishop of Winchester as is Ferrers' Elianor. Quoted from the 1600 edition.

times openly in London, & then to perpetuall banishment in the Ile of Man, from whence she writeth this Epistle.

That Ferrers used these tragedies of Duke Humphrey and Elianor Cobham to set forth to his contemporaries needful lessons from the past becomes apparent; by so doing he fulfilled quite literally the current conception of the function of history as serving as a mirror for magistrates. The two tragedies were written to mirror different current events, and history was therefore modified and interpreted to meet the different didactic purposes of the two tragedies. The story of Duke Humphrey was so told that it reflected the moral judgments of the time concerning the fall of Protector Somerset. The story of Elianor Cobham interpreted the same events so that they reflected the events which were connected with the adventures of Elizabeth and Dr. John Dee in 1555 and 1556. That George Ferrers acted as informant to the Privy Council concerning the affairs of the Princess Elizabeth here delineated in the story of Elianor Cobham is a fact that throws new light upon the character of George Ferrers, but it also emphasizes the value of the *Mirror* in historical studies. So closely are present and past intertwined in this work that the student of the reigns of Edward VI and Mary ought not to overlook the tragedies of the *Mirror* as most suggestive guides.

That the story of Elianor Cobham became one of the literary centers of dispute between Foxe and his critics, and that her story was consequently sung and told in several popular versions during the late sixteenth century seems to me also a matter of definite literary importance. In fact, I am convinced that the dramas of the reign of Henry VI need to be reconsidered in the light of the emphasis placed upon the history of that reign during the reign of Edward VI and in the years thereafter when the importance of the problems in dispute during the earlier reign was being newly realized.

Arminian versus Puritan in England, ca. 1620–1640

By GODFREY DAVIES

THERE can be little doubt that the Church of England was in a more satisfactory condition at the end of the sixteenth century than at any previous time. The immediate dangers, threatened from without by foreign invasion to restore Roman Catholicism, and from within by Puritans seeking to wreck the Elizabethan settlement through substituting a Presbyterian for an Episcopal form of government, had been met and defeated. Roman Catholicism had so declined that its acknowledged adherents no longer numbered more than two or three per cent of the population, although there were probably many more who attended Anglican services only to avoid persecution; but most Englishmen continued to believe that the restoration of popery was an ever present threat. Puritanism, which in the third quarter of the century had seemed likely to prevail, had received a very definite setback during the last decade.[1] The reasons for its failure were varied. In the first place, a new school of theologians had arisen (of which Hooker was the brightest ornament), who no longer thought of the writings of Luther or Calvin as the last court of appeal, but relied on the co-ordinated authority of Scripture and patristic literature.[2] They supplied a learned and reasoned basis for the theological position of the Church of England, and commended the *via media*, not as a convenient halfway house between Rome and

[1] Cf. Thomas Fuller, *Church History of Britain* (1868), III, 184: "Great at this time was the calm in the English Church, the brethren not endeavouring any thing in opposition to the hierarchy." (In the citations in this article, it is to be understood that, unless otherwise indicated, the place of publication is London or is not given on the title-page.)

[2] Richard Mountagu, *Appello Caesarem* (1625), p. 11, sums up the Arminian position excellently: "From my first entrance to the studie of divinity, I . . . betooke my selfe to Scripture the rule of faith, interpreted by antiquity, the best expositor of faith, and applyer of that rule: holding it a point of discretion to draw water as neere as I could to the well-head."

Geneva, but as the true, if reformed, descendant of the primitive church.[1] In the second place, Puritanism, with its strict and inquisitorial morality, was opposed to the spirit of the age that produced William Shakespeare. Thirdly, the official view then prevalent, that Church and State were one society in a twofold aspect and that to assail the former inevitably involved the latter, was not yet repugnant to the class with political power. At that time the theory of the divine right of kings was accepted, and the most damaging accusation brought against the opponents of Anglicanism was that they were attempting to introduce a popular or democratic form of government in both Church and State.[2] Fourthly, during the last decade of the sixteenth century a steady persecution of "seditious sectaries and disloyal persons" — to cite the act of 1593 — had suppressed open opposition to the national church.[3]

Apart from sectaries, who probably did not number many thousands, the Puritans were churchmen and continued to attend the parish services. Thomas Fuller[4] explains that, at first, the word "Puritans" was used only to describe those who dissented from the hierarchy about church discipline and government, that it was then extended to include those who were anti-Arminians,[5] and that it was finally applied to the most orthodox in doctrine and religious in conversation. Henry Burton, while still an Anglican clergyman, stated that a Puritan minister conformed to the Church of England, used

[1] In a proclamation (1604), James stated that he aimed at "an uniformity as well of doctrine, as of government, both of them agreeable to the word of God, the doctrine of the primitive church, and the laws heretofore established." (Edward Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England* [Oxford, 1839], II, 60–61.)

[2] The Millenary Petition and the Apology of 1604 were careful to repudiate such attempts.

[3] Peter Heylyn is emphatic that it was not as much the learned arguments of Hooker and others as "the seasonable execution of some principal sticklers, which occasioned the great calm both in Church and State." (*Examen Historicum* [1659], pp. 165–66.)

[4] *Church History*, III, 342–43.

[5] "Arminianism is a general term used to cover the whole high church and latitudinarian reaction against the intellectual tyranny of Calvinism." (S. L. Ollard, *Dictionary of English Church History* [1912], p. 28.) The reaction was strongest against predestination, which Prynne thus defines: "Ther is an eternal and immutable praedestination of certaine men unto eternal life, out of meere grace and mercy; and likewise a praetermission or reprobation of others to eternall death, out of Gods meere pleasure." (*The Church of Englands Old Antithesis* [1629], p. 33. This pamphlet is the first form of *Anti-Arminianisme* [1630].)

ceremonies, even defended them in sermons, and refused the Communion to those who would not receive it kneeling; and that he was distinguished by his diligence in preaching and constant residence in his charge, by his strict observance of the Lord's Day, and, above all, by his vehement denunciation of the Mass and the idolatries and superstitions of the Church of Rome, and by his denial of liberty to Jesuits, and other priests, to live up and down in the land.[1] Thus, the quarrel between Puritans and Anglicans partook of the nature of domestic strife. Each party was anxious to compel the other to accept its views; neither had the slightest wish to indulge the scrupulousness of the other.

Puritanism seldom attracted the whole-hearted devotion of the bulk of the nobility and country gentry, and made little appeal generally to the lowest classes, but its adherents were to be found among the middle classes. The Puritans remained in a minority, but had an importance out of proportion to their numbers, because they possessed a large share of the wealth and progressive ideas of the country. In their struggle against Arminianism, they had to encounter the alliance between the monarchy and the episcopate, between Stuart theories of government and Laudian principles of ecclesiastical discipline. They secured sufficient aid from the political opponents of the Stuarts to defeat the alliance, but found, in the hour of victory, that their ranks had been united in nothing except a common opposition to that enhancement of the royal prerogative that went by the name of Thorough. The ensuing quarrels among the victors in the Civil War were never appeased, so King and Church were restored in 1660.

During the first decade of the century, Archbishop Bancroft strengthened the institutional life of the Church and compelled strict adherence to its doctrine and ceremonial. Hitherto the ritual prescribed in the Prayer Book had been quietly ignored or slackly observed in many parishes, but was now enforced more strictly.[2] Thus, while there were no insurmountable liturgical differences between Episcopalian and Puritan, their divergent views on discipline and organization assumed a new importance when unity of ceremony was deemed as essential as unity of doctrine.

[1] *A Plea to an Appeale* (1626), p. 8.

[2] R. G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church* (New York, 1910), *passim.*

The most acute controversy within the Church during the period 1620–40 arose over the question of episcopacy. Many Puritans like Bastwick felt indifferent about prelacy, so long as it was merely "an order established by the king and state";[1] but their keenest antagonism was aroused when the theory of episcopacy *jure divino* was emphasized. This theory, although advanced in Elizabeth's reign, did not attract much attention in the beginning and is not one of the grievances enumerated in the Millenary Petition of 1603. It was first brought prominently before the public by Alexander Leighton's pamphlet,[2] published in 1628, and henceforth it was the main subject of contention between Puritans and Episcopalians. As Archbishop Laud said: "Our main crime is . . . that we are bishops. . . . And a great trouble 'tis to them [Puritans], that we maintain that our calling of bishops is *jure divino*." [3]

The Puritans believed that a new generation of bishops had arisen, and denounced these "innovators" unsparingly. Burton's tirades are typical: that the bishops, by usurping a kind of papal jurisdiction exempt from the law of the land, and by casting off their dependence upon the King's prerogative and authority, had grown to such a height as to overtop the throne itself and to trample the laws and liberties of subjects under their feet.[4] The answer to such contentions usually took some such form as this: that a system of church government which had continued from the time of the Apostles to the present day and which had been established both by law and by custom in England ever since the introduction of Christianity, is more likely to suit Englishmen than a system such as Presbyterianism, which is newly created, not recognized by the laws, and incompatible with monarchy.[5]

Perhaps the bishops' claim to an apostolic succession for their order was rendered more odious to Puritans by the increasing dignity and pomp of the episcopate. Malicious eyes noted that Whitgift was accompanied out of doors by a train of above sixty men,[6] and that Laud

[1] *The Second Part of the Letany* (1637), p. 6.
[2] *An Appeal to the Parliament; or Sions Plea against the Prelacie.*
[3] *Works* (Oxford, 1847–60), VI, 42–43; cf. pp. 573–74.
[4] *An Apology of an Appeale* (1636), p. 29.
[5] This is a paraphrase of Laud's argument, in *Works*, III, 387.
[6] Fuller, *Church History*, III, 222. According to one biographer, Whitgift's train sometimes numbered 800 to 1,000 horse. (G. G. Perry, *History of the Church of England* [1861], I, 27.)

went abroad with forty or fifty mounted attendants and ushers crying: "Roome, roome for my Lords Grace. Gentlemen be uncovered my Lords Grace is comming." To make way for the Archbishop, his attendants are said to have exhibited great contempt for the common folk, "tumbling downe and thrusting aside the little children a playing there: flinging and tossing the poore costermongers and souce-wives fruit and puddings, baskets and all into the Thames." [1]

The general unpopularity of the bishops in the early 1640's was due to many reasons besides the Puritan hatred of prelacy as unlawful and unchristian.[2] Their attempt to exact a blind obedience to their views and to impose them without argument hurt them in public opinion.[3] Their enjoyment of high public offices and engrossment of the royal confidence, as Clarendon says, "exposed them to the universal envy of the whole nobility." [4] Puritans were not slow to point out the inconsistency in the claim of the clergy to the exclusive control of matters of religion, when they were themselves simultaneously taking a leading part in directing the national policy.[5] Probably, however, one main cause of the general dislike of the prelates lies outside the scope of this paper — that they were blamed as the authors of the two Bishops' wars against the Scottish Covenanters. Another is to be found in the interdependence of episcopacy and absolute monarchy. James summed up the relations of the two in the epigram, "No bishop, no king"; [6] and courtly divines were quick to perceive the logical consequences of such a doctrine — that any opposition to the Church of England was sedition, and any criticism of the monarchy was blasphemy. Apparently, preachers were never tired of repeating that those who were eager to cast miters and caps underfoot were equally anxious to throw down crowns and scepters.[7]

[1] John Bastwick, *Letany* (1637), p. 6. John Aubrey (*Brief Lives* [Oxford, 1898], II, 287) notes that Falkland used to say that Juxon was the only bishop whom a pair of lawn sleeves had not materially altered.

[2] Leighton, *Appeal to the Parliament*, p. 3. [3] John Selden, *Table Talk* (1927 ed.), p. 14.

[4] *History of the Rebellion* (Oxford, 1888), I, 184. In a letter dated October 8/18, 1641, a foreign visitor observed: "The larger part of the nobles, however, and almost all the people desire the complete suppression of the episcopal rank." (*Comenius in England*, ed. R. F. Young [1932], p. 67.)

[5] Burton, *Apology of an Appeale*, pp. 19–20 (misprinted 29–30).

[6] Edward Cardwell, *The History of Conferences* (Oxford, 1840), pp. 184, 203.

[7] John Pocklington, *Sunday No Sabbath* (1636), p. 41.

James I and Charles I were agreed that, as the former said at Hampton Court, unity was the life of religion, and they held with Archbishop Laud [1] that, if unity did not prevail in the Church, divisions would at once appear in the State. Both rulers thoroughly believed in the theory of the divine right of kings, although, while the former was inclined to emphasize the divine origin of kingship, the latter stressed most frequently that kings are answerable to God alone. The views of both are coupled in the first of the canons, passed in 1640:

> The most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of nature, and clearly established by express texts both of the Old and New Testaments. A supreme power is given to this most excellent order by God himself in the Scriptures, which is, that kings should rule and command in their several dominions all persons of what rank or estate soever. . . . For subjects to bear arms against their kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to resist the powers which are ordained of God; and . . . they shall receive to themselves damnation.[2]

Such a theory was fundamentally opposed to the Presbyterian thesis that there were two kingdoms, the spiritual and the temporal. According to this thesis, Presbyterianism was the only form of church government divinely instituted and therefore unalterable, whereas monarchy was merely one type of civil government and could be changed to suit circumstances. Moreover, the monarch was an ordinary member of the church and liable to ecclesiastical censures. This was why the Stuarts all hated Presbyterianism, why James I said it agreed with monarchy as God and the devil.[3] Although Presbyterianism has often been styled the creed of rebels, yet it taught that obedience was due to any form of government, if lawful — a proviso which implied a qualified allegiance.

The English Puritans were not necessarily adherents of Presbyterianism, though many of them preferred that system of ecclesiastical organization to episcopacy. It is likely that this preference was theoretical at first, and only became important when animosity to the

[1] *Works*, I, 157. Cf. Bacon, *Works* (1858), VI, 381: "Religion being the chief bond of human society."

[2] Edward Cardwell, *Synodalia* (Oxford, 1842), I, 389–91.

[3] *Idem*, *History of Conferences*, p. 202.

Laudian episcopate forced the Puritans to seek an alternative system. So soon as they felt obliged, in conscience, to protest against any abuse of episcopal authority, they had to face the accusation of sedition. They might protest, with Bastwick, that there were not under heaven more loyal subjects than Puritans to their kings and governors,[1] but they soon found that the contrast they drew between the royal clemency and the prelates' tyranny [2] was baseless, for the King pressed their prosecution as eagerly as the bishops. Laud interpreted the situation more clearly when he pointed out to Charles I that the attack on the bishops also involved the King's honor and safety.[3] The unity of Church and State was complete, and the strong arm of the secular power reinforced clerical anathemas whenever a sturdy Puritan voice was raised in protest. The fatal consequence was that many who cared little whether the Scriptures did, or did not, prove that episcopacy was of divine ordination, came to regard bishops as the obnoxious agents of despotism. In fact, Thorough was applied so impartially in Church and State that it fused together, into an opposition that eventually led to the downfall of both, all who objected to either the ecclesiastical or civil government of the Stuarts.[4]

Arguments about forms of church government or the relations of Church and State were not likely to interest the average Englishman. In order to enlist his support, the Puritans had to appeal to the general hatred of Roman Catholicism. They were careful to point out that popery and tyranny went hand in hand,[5] and thus link together constitutionalism and fanaticism. In their attempts to frighten the

[1] *Letany*, p. 15. Cf. the dedication to Burton's *Plea to an Appeale*, where the very name of Puritanism is said to be enough to cause truth to be mistaken for heresy, sincerity for hypocrisy, a peaceable conformist for a seditious schismatic, and a loyal subject for a traitor.

[2] Bastwick, *Fourth Part of the Letany* (1637), p. 4.

[3] *Works*, VI, 38.

[4] Heylyn bitterly complains that the Puritans, "finding they could effect nothing in Queen Elizabeths time . . . cunningly wrought themselves into a state-faction, and play'd their game under the colour of advancing the civil liberties of the subject, and the preservation of religion here by law established." (*Cyprianus Anglicus* [1668], p. 129.)

[5] See Heylyn's remarks in the preface to his *A Briefe and Moderate Answer* (1637); and Burton's *Narration* (1643), p. 9: "And as they laboured to undermine, and overthrow the true Protestant religion, and in stead thereof to set up popery; so they did no lesse seeke to overthrow the civill state, with the good lawes thereof, and just liberties of the subject, and to introduce an arbitrary government, otherwise called tyrany."

plain man into the belief that there was a real danger of the restoration of Roman Catholicism, they were much aided by the more rigid insistence by Arminian bishops upon a ceremonial church service which seemed to many to foreshadow a return to pre-Reformation usages.

At the beginning of James's reign, the Millenary Petition embodied the Puritan objections to the moderate ceremonial then prescribed. The petition asked that the use of the cross in baptism and of the ring in marriage be discontinued, that wearing the cap and surplice be not enforced, that church music be simplified, and that ministers be forbidden to teach their congregations to bow at the name of Jesus.[1] At the Hampton Court conference James sternly brushed aside these objections. He would have, he said, "one doctrine and one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony";[2] and wound up with the famous remark about the Puritans: "I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of this land, or else do worse."[3]

As time went on, the enforcement of ceremonial became stricter, and, simultaneously, the opposition became keener.[4] The controversy tended to range around bowing at the name of Jesus (which Puritans regarded as idolatry),[5] and the Communion service, particularly the position of the Communion table (which many now called the altar)[6] and bowing towards it on entering and leaving the church. As Clarendon says, the new position of the altar gave rise to a bitter dispute, waged with the same earnestness as if Christianity itself had been at stake.[7] The official view is well stated by the Bishop of Salisbury — that the position of the altar was, in the judgment of the Church of England, "a thing indifferent, and to be ordered and guided by the only rule of convenience. . . . To judge and determine what is most convenient belongs not to private persons, but to those that have

[1] Cardwell, *History of Conferences*, pp. 130–33.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 198–99.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[4] John Burges (in *An Answer Reioyned* [1631], p. 4) notes that, whereas the early Puritans (such as Cartwright) opposed ceremonies as inconvenient, now they were denounced as unlawful. Prynne describes, with his usual exaggeration, the ritual in use: "All late-erected altars, images, tapers, crucifixes: all new revived popish doctrines, ceremonies, duckings, genuflexions, easterne, yea altar-adorations." (*Church of Englands Old Antithesis*, ¶4ᵛ.)

[5] E.g., Henry Burton, *Jesu-Worship Confuted* (1640).

[6] Fuller, *Church History*, III, 429.

[7] *History of the Rebellion*, I, 199.

ecclesiasticall authority." Therefore, all must accept the decision of their superiors that the altar should be placed at the east end of the chancel and railed in.[1]

Laud's own defense of his insistence upon this ceremonialism is that he merely labored that

> the external worship of God in this Church might be kept up in uniformity and decency, and in some beauty of holiness. And this the rather, because, first, I found that with the contempt of the outward worship of God, the inward fell away apace, and profaneness began boldly to show itself. And secondly, because I could speak with no conscientious persons almost, that were wavering in religion, but the great motive which wrought upon them to disaffect, or think meanly of the Church of England, was, that the external worship of God was so lost in the Church (as they conceived it), and the churches themselves, and all things in them, suffered to lie in such a base and slovenly fashion in most places of the kingdom.[2]

Many others re-echoed this teaching. As one preacher put it, "Gods house is a house of holinesse; therefore holy vestments, set apart for so high service, best beseem it." [3]

Whatever may be the merits of an "external decent worship," there is no doubt that it was unpopular with the plain man. An erstwhile nonconformist — now one of the most moderate of Anglicans — sorrowfully confesses that many poor people were so strongly and passionately opposed to ceremonies that they esteemed any minister, however gifted and painstaking in his calling, to be a corrupt time-

[1] Morris Fuller, *The Life of Bishop Davenant* (1897), p. 426. Among the visitation articles of the diocese of Norwich occurs: "Doe your parishioners . . . uncover their heads, sit bare all service time, kneele downe in their seates, bowing towards the chancell and Communion-table, and use those severall postures which fit the severall acts and parts of divine service." (William Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* [1646], p. 95.) Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 97–100, for the punishment of churchwardens who refused to move the Communion table.

[2] *Works*, III, 407–8. Elsewhere Laud writes: "For my care of this Church, the reducing of it into order, the upholding of the external worship of God in it, and the settling of it to the rules of its first reformation, are the causes (and the sole causes, whatever are pretended) of all this malicious storm, which hath lowered so black upon me, and some of my brethren." (*Ibid.*, VI, 42.) He said much the same at his trial. (Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, p. 54.) Cf. John Donne, Sermon CXX (in *Works* [1839], V, 134): "Ceremonies are nothing; but where there are no ceremonies, order, and uniformity, and obedience, and at last, (and quickly) religion itself will vanish."

[3] Robert Shelford, *Five Pious and Learned Discourses* (Cambridge, 1635), p. 33.

server if he were a "formalist." [1] Laud himself acknowledges, in 1637, that "'tis superstition now-a-days for any man to come with more reverence into a church, than a tinker and his bitch come into an ale-house." [2]

Puritans objected to ritualistic practices as contrary to the Scriptures, unedifying, popish, and sometimes even idolatrous. The type of argument adduced in support of the first objection can be illustrated from Bastwick's *Second Part of the Letany*. He states that, at the Last Supper, Christ and his disciples sat, but that the Pope and the prelates have introduced kneeling — "a posture of adoration, a strange innovation." [3] The Puritan position was that no ceremony should be imposed which was not specifically authorized by the Bible; but the Laudian maintained that ceremonies, even if not authorized by the Bible, might be imposed by the Church, provided they were not directly forbidden by the Scriptures.

Another argument of Bastwick's is that, by fixing the minds of men upon earthly things, the clergy kept them from seeking the things that are above; [4] and it was further urged that outward ceremonies were fitter for man than for God. The ritualist answered that human ceremonies, when applied to God, changed their nature and became holiness.[5]

Undoubtedly, the most popular argument the Puritans could bring against ceremonies was that they were popish. Their position had the great merit of simplicity. Their pamphleteers denounced all pre-Reformation uses as popish and therefore abominable.[6] Whatever was derived from the unreformed Church was suspect, and the more extreme among them held that the Book of Common Prayer was taken from the Mass book and other popish writings and represented a mere

[1] Burges, *Answer Reioyned*, p. 4.

[2] *Works*, VI, 57. Cf. Thomas Cheshire, *A True Copy of That Sermon . . . 1641*, p. 12: "Another will maintaine, that there is no more holinesse in the Church then in his kitchen, nor in the Lords Table then in a dresser-board."

[3] P. 12. Cf. Laud, *Works*, VI, 55–56, where he says that the Puritans accused those who bowed towards the altar, of worshipping the holy table.

[4] *Second Part of the Letany*, p. 18.

[5] Shelford, *Five Pious and Learned Discourses*, pp. 23–24.

[6] At the Hampton Court conference, James said of Presbyterians: "Neither did any thing make me more to condemn and detest their courses, than that they did so peremptorily disallow of all things, which at all had been used in popery." (Cardwell, *History of Conferences*, p. 199.)

translation of Latin superstition into English.[1] In their anxiety to repudiate pre-Reformation doctrine and practice, they constituted the Bible their sole authority [2] and regarded it as a uniform manual of doctrine and an absolute law of truth. It was natural, therefore, that they should detect a drift Romeward in the Laudian divine, for he was anxious to preserve, and even to emphasize, the connection with historic Christianity, and felt that the Church had been merely reformed and not created anew in the sixteenth century, and that the decrees and practices of the undivided Church were binding in all cases not provided for in the Bible, even though they might have been adopted by the medieval Church. A plausible case could be stated, therefore, that Arminianism was merely "a cunning way to bring in popery." [3]

Another quarrel arose between Puritan and Anglican over the control of the pulpit. The differences developed at the very beginning of James's reign, for, at the Hampton Court conference, the Puritans emphasized the need of a preaching ministry, but the King and the bishops, while not denying the necessity of preaching, tended to stress praying and reading the homilies.[4] As time went on, however, both sides came to realize more and more the vital importance of enlisting on its side the main organ of public opinion — the pulpit.[5]

[1] Bastwick, *Third Part of the Letany* (1637), p. 6. Bastwick no doubt believed what he wrote, but others were willing to seize any handle to belabor Episcopalians. Cf. Selden, *Table Talk*, p. 99: "Wee charge the prelaticall clergie with popery to make them odious, tho' wee know they are guiltye of no such thing."

[2] Selden made the very acute observation that the Puritan "would bee judg'd by the word of God (if hee would speake cleerly hee meanes himselfe, but that hee is asham'd to say soe) & hee would have me beleive him before a whole Church, that has read the word of God as well as hee." (*Ibid.*, p. 119.)

[3] Remonstrance of the House of Commons, June, 1628. (John Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, I, 633.)

[4] The Bishop of London asserted that it had now come to pass "that some sort of men thought it the only duty required of a minister, to spend the time in speaking out of a pulpit." (Cardwell, *History of Conferences*, p. 191.)

[5] According to Heylyn, Elizabeth "used to tune the pulpits, as her saying was." The early Stuarts continued the practice. In the Apology of 1604, the Commons complain that some of the higher clergy wrote against them and some of the inferior clergy inveighed against them from the pulpit. (J. R. Tanner, *Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I* [Cambridge, 1930], p. 222.) See Heylyn (*Cyprianus Anglicus*, pp. 161–62), Laud (*Works*, III, 195; VII, 6), and Cardwell (*Documentary Annals*, II, 158–64), for instructions (1626) to the clergy in their sermons to urge their auditors to help the King of Denmark in the Thirty Years' War

Accordingly, constant attempts were made to insure that no parish should be left wholly without sermons. By the Canons of 1604, every beneficed clergyman, if licensed as a preacher, was directed to preach every Sunday throughout the year, but, if not licensed, he was to cause one sermon to be preached in his cure once every month. On the Sundays when no sermon was delivered, he was to read one of the prescribed homilies.[1] Later, Archbishop Bancroft directed that every pluralist should supply a preaching minister to officiate in his own absence.[2]

Although a great advance had been made during Elizabeth's reign, it is probable that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, nearly half the clergy were judged incapable of preaching and therefore not licensed. In Elizabeth's reign, Puritans, in order to give ministers training in exposition, had organized prophesyings, or conferences, but they had been sternly repressed. Although Bacon thought them an admirable method of training preachers to expound the Scriptures,[3] they continued to be frowned upon by the hierarchy. Consequently, the services of a number of lecturers were engaged, especially by Puritans, and these remained a great thorn in the flesh of the more orthodox clergy.

The importance of preaching had now become so evident that the ambitious cleric used to deliver two sermons a Sunday, although it is said, after his ambition had been gratified, he never entered the pulpit for months on end.[4] Apparently, extemporary sermons were most popular with ordinary congregations, for Selden says that "preaching by the spiritt (as they call it) is most esteem'd by the comon people, because they cannott abide art or learning. . . . So they say to the

and to "stir up all sort of people to express their zeal to God, their duty to the King, and their love unto their country, and one to another." On August 11, 1643, the Commons voted an order for sending "divers godly ministers into divers counties . . . to possess the people with the truth and justice of the Parliament's cause." King and Parliament were agreed on the importance of the pulpit, for throughout the negotiations at Newcastle, in 1646, Charles I showed more anxiety to command the pulpits than the army. "If the pulpits teach not obedience," he wrote, "the king will have but small comfort of the militia." (*Charles I in 1646*, ed. John Bruce [1856], p. 79.)

[1] Articles XLV, XLVI.

[2] Perry, *History of the Church of England*, I, 175.

[3] *Works* (1868), X, 119.

[4] George Wither, *Brittan's Remembrancer* (1628), Canto VI.

preachers, You come with your schoole learning, theres such an one has the spirit." [1] William Perkins, whose *Works* were extraordinarily popular in the seventeenth century, states that all true and able ministers should have a tongue full of power and force, for the fiery tongue beats down sin and implants grace in the heart.[2] Probably one reason for the unpopularity of Arminians was that their sermons were too learned and too full of verbal conceits for the ordinary audience.

As James's reign drew to a close, popular interest in political and religious affairs became more intense,[3] and many preachers discussed the Spanish match,[4] the dangers of continental Protestantism (now that the Thirty Years' War had begun), or the issues at stake between Calvinism and Arminianism. According to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the main characteristics of sermons of the time were a discussion of points of divinity too deep for the capacity of the congregation, a vainglorious display of wit or knowledge, or an ignorant meddling in politics.[5] The King, therefore, issued instructions in 1622 [6] that preachers should adhere rigidly to their texts, that afternoon sermons should be confined to some part of the catechism or to a text from the Creed, the Ten Commandments, or the Lord's Prayer,[7] and that

[1] *Table Talk*, p. 105. Elsewhere (p. 39) he says: "To preach long; low'd; and damnation is [the] way to be cryd up."

[2] *The Second Treatise of the Duties and Dignitie of the Ministerie*, p. 22; cf. Caroline Francis Richardson, *English Preachers and Preaching, 1640–1670* (New York, 1928), pp. 42–47. For the official Presbyterian view of sermons, see the Directory for Public Worship, drawn up by the Westminster Assembly and printed in 1645.

[3] There were two proclamations issued (1620–21) against lavish and licentious speech about matters of state. (*Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, compiled by Robert Steele [Oxford, 1910], Nos. 1296, 1315.) According to letters sent by the Privy Council to the justices of assize (March 2, 1622), these proclamations were ineffective, inasmuch as the complaint was made that, an unaccustomed and licentious boldness of speech touching secrets of state or government still continued and was to be severely punished. (*Acts of the Privy Council, 1621–1623* [1932], p. 153.)

[4] "The treatise about the Spanish match was the breize that bit them, and made them wild." (John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata* [1693], p. 86.) Speaking of the year 1622, Sir William Sanderson says: "I well remember these times, the invectives of the pulpits, which truly the wisdom of state thought fit to suppress." (*Compleat History of Mary Queen of Scotland and James I* [1656], p. 533.)

[5] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, II, 151–54. In *Cabala* (1691), pp. 106–7, the letter is attributed to Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper.

[6] Cardwell, *op. cit.*, II, 146–51.

[7] Further restrictions were imposed in 1629, after which, as Burton complains, nothing was allowed on Sunday afternoons except catechism by question and answer out of the Book

no minister should presume to preach on predestination or what Mountagu called that comfortable doctrine of election and reprobation. All preachers, of whatsoever degree, were forbidden to limit, in their discourses, "the power, prerogative, jurisdiction, authority, or duty of sovereign princes, or otherwise meddle with these matters of state."

This royal order caused the greatest consternation among Puritans, who deplored the loss of half the preaching in England, by the restrictions placed on the afternoon sermons.[1] If Bastwick is to be believed, in some districts there was not a sermon in six months, and when there was one it was read and consisted largely of railing against Puritans.[2] The omission of a sermon was the more serious because the parishioner was forbidden to go to another, more fortunate parish.[3] Prynne, referring to a decade later, when the reins had been tightened, directly attributed the increase in deaths from the plague to God's wrath at the restraint of preaching. According to him, so many had been suspended in the diocese of Norwich

> only for not yeelding to popish innovation, that in sundry churches they have neither prayers, preaching, nor fasting, which had brought the plague among them, and made the people at their wits ends . . . there being never such a persecution or havock made among Gods ministers since Q. Maries dayes, as a lecherous proud insolante prelate hath there lately made against all lawes of God and man.[4]

What made the restrictions on preaching still more onerous was the freedom, both to preach and to publish, enjoyed by the Arminian

of Common Prayer. (*Apology of an Appeale*, A2^{v}; Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 199. Cf. Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, II, 177–81, for similar orders issued in 1633.) Cf. John Frederick Chanter, *The Life of Martin Blake* (1910), p. 49. No doubt the official point of view is stated by Donne, whose remark is of general application: "But for God's prerogative . . . it should scarce be disputed of in schools, much less served in every popular pulpit to curious and itching ears; least of all made table-talk, and household discourse." (Sermon CXXXII [in *Works*, V, 365].)

[1] Fuller, *Church History*, III, 358.

[2] *Second Part of the Letany*, p. 4.

[3] Bastwick, *Third Part of the Letany*, p. 3.

[4] *Newes from Ipswich* (1636). Heylyn alleged that Prynne was guilty of the grossest exaggeration, and averred that only six ministers were suspended absolutely, that two resigned their cures, and that eight were allowed a further trial. (*A Briefe and Moderate Answer*, p. 113 [misprinted 111].)

faction.[1] Mountagu might taunt the Puritans with having annexed to their pens and pulpits the infallibility of the papal chair and with remaining in the Church in order to betray it by installing popes (that is, presbyters) in every parish and a democratic anarchy in the State;[2] but the Puritan ran a serious risk if he replied in an unlicensed pamphlet — his controversial writings were unlikely to be licensed.

Whereas the Puritan was forbidden to preach against the prerogative, the Arminian was permitted to support it with vehemence. In the first speech he made in the Long Parliament, Pym included in his enumeration of the principal grievances of the Kingdom, "preaching for absolute monarchy that the King may doe what hee list."[3] Many instances could be cited to justify his complaint. Robert Sibthorpe, in a sermon afterwards published,[4] laid down the rule that, if princes commanded anything which subjects could not perform, they were to submit to punishment without resistance and to yield a passive obedience when they could not exhibit an active one. Roger Maynwaring went even farther,[5] and taught that sovereigns were no less than "fathers, lords, kings, and gods on earth" to their subjects. No subject, he said, without hazard of his own damnation for rebelling against God, might question or disobey the will and pleasure of the King.[6]

This new school of divines inevitably incurred the bitter hostility of the House of Commons. The Puritan middle-class representatives were impregnated with Erastianism and loathed the increasing sacerdotalism observed on all sides. They would have thoroughly agreed with Prynne's statement that whoever studied the statutes of the

[1] John Rushworth comments that the effect of the proclamation of 1626 against writing or preaching about controversial matters in religion was as follows: "The effects of this proclamation how equally soever intended, became the stopping of the Puritans mouths, and an uncontrouled liberty to the tongues and pens of the Arminian party." (*Historical Collections*, I [1659], 417.)

[2] *Appello Caesarem*, pp. 6–7, 44. That Puritans were hypocrites who accepted benefices in the Church but were disloyal to its doctrine and discipline, seems to have been a favorite topic for Arminian divines. See Pocklington, *Sunday No Sabbath*, p. 36.

[3] *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, ed. Wallace Notestein (New Haven, 1923), pp. 8–9.

[4] As *Apostolike Obedience Shewing the Duty of Subiects to Pay Tribute and Taxes to Their Princes* (1627), p. 13.

[5] *Religion and Alegiance* (1627).

[6] Pp. 3–4, 19. Laud claims to have prevented many books written to maintain the absolute power of the King, from being printed (*Works*, III, 400), but apparently did not prohibit sermons extolling the prerogative.

realm would find "religion and church-affaires, determined, ratified, declared, and ordered by act of Parliament, and no wayes else." [1] They were equally alarmed at the absolutist doctrines propounded by divines favored at court, and impeached both Mountagu and Maynwaring, but the only result was to win promotion for both. It is of the highest significance, however, that, at the final breach between King and Parliament in 1629, the first clause of the Protestation of the Commons was:

> Whosoever shall bring in innovation of religion, or by favour or countenance seek to extend or introduce popery or Arminianism, or other opinion disagreeing from the true [2] and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth.[3]

During the ensuing eleven years, King and bishops could enforce their policy with greater strictness, without fear of parliamentary criticism.

Still more effectively to muzzle the opponents of Laudism, further royal orders in 1629 demanded that before the sermon all lecturers, in surplice and hood, should read the service provided in the Prayer Book, and that the lecturer should lose his license to preach, if he refused to accept any cure offered to him.[4] Another blow was dealt at Puritan lectureships by the dissolution, in 1633, of a corporation of Londoners who had established a fund to buy up impropriate tithes in order to maintain lecturers or to increase their stipends.[5] In Laud's view, the feoffees were "the main instruments for the Puritan faction to undo the Church." [6]

In order to exclude the Puritan altogether from using the press, a proclamation was issued in 1624 forbidding the printing or importation of any book dealing with religion, church government, or matters of state, until it had been read by one of the following (or a deputy):

[1] *Anti-Arminianisme*, Dedication. Cf. Selden, *Table Talk*, p. 20: "They are both equally mad who say bi[sho]pps are soe jure divino, that they must be continued and they who say they are soe antichristian that they must be put away. All is as the State likes."

[2] Rushworth has "truth."

[3] Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, I, 670.

[4] Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, pp. 199–200. According to this writer (pp. 364–65), "the greatest part" of the lecturers deserted their posts because they would not wear hoods and surplices.

[5] S. R. Gardiner, *History of England* (1884), VII, 258–61.

[6] *Works*, III, 216–17. Cf. Heylyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–12.

the two archbishops, the Bishop of London, or the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford or of Cambridge.[1] To reinforce this edict, a new Star Chamber decree was issued in July, 1637, to the effect that no book or pamphlet should be printed unless licensed by one of those named above;[2] that no foreign books should be sold until approved by representatives of the two divines; that no book should be reprinted without a new license; and that, if any unauthorized printer should establish a press, he was liable to be set in the pillory and to be whipped through the City of London.[3]

Finally, the Canons of 1640 positively prescribed that every preacher should deliver two sermons a year that the rites and ceremonies now established in the Church of England are lawful and commendable.[4]

There can be no doubt that these prolonged and increasingly harsh attempts to confine sermons to simple exposition or loyal utterances were greatly resented. To many, the sermon had come to be the most important part of the service. An Oxonian divine proposed, a few years after the Restoration, to write a history of preaching, in order to destroy "that erroneous and superstitious conceit of sermons, which obtaines so much amongst the vulgar, that it has almost cast all other religion out of doores."[5] Both in restricting sermons and in maintaining a rigid censorship of the press, the royal policy was fighting a losing battle. The populace had suddenly become tired of a paternalistic form of government and wanted to be informed. Stifling open dis-

[1] *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, No. 1383.

[2] Except that the name of the Archbishop of York is omitted in 1637.

[3] Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, II (1680), 450. Cf. Heylyn (*op. cit.*, p. 364), for the statement that, so late as Abbot's archbishopric, books in favor of Calvinistic doctrines were licensed, but that under Laud these opinions were "found inconsistent with the Churches doctrines." Prynne bitterly complains: "not onely all kind of pseudo-Lutheran and Arminian but even of Jesuiticall popish books (which have arrived here of late in great varietie and abundance, without the least restraint) are now more diligently inquired after . . . then . . . our owne un-matched Protestant writers, whose impressions almost canker for want of use, and sometimes perish in the printers hands, for want of chapmen for to vent them." (*Anti-Arminianisme*, C2.)

[4] Article VIII.

[5] Thomas Warton, *Life of Ralph Bathurst* (1761), p. 56. In John Fell's *Life of Hammond* (1661), occurs (p. 10): "preaching . . . a performance wherein some of late have phansied all religion to consist." Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, I, 30) notes that Lancelot Andrewes was extremely preached against for excusing a sleeper in sermon time.

cussion actually made easier the dissemination of rumors that some deep plot to restore popery was on foot.

It is remarkable that, with the exception of the burning of two heretics in 1612, the severest punishments for ecclesiastical offenses were for pamphlets against the religious policy of the crown.[1] The extreme sentences inflicted were unlikely to deter men who were convinced that they were called upon to testify for a great cause.[2] The mutilation of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton only evoked fervid appeals from the sufferers to the onlookers to stand firm for their religion and liberty, lest they should sink into perpetual slavery. All the sympathies of the crowds were with the victims,[3] and many must have recalled what they had read about the Marian persecution. Indeed, Bastwick was careful to point out that one of the most devoted Laudians had called the martyrs "schismaticall hereticks."[4] The Puritans fully realized the advantages their cause would gain from the widest publicity. Prynne addressed himself particularly to the intelligencers[5] standing around, and pious hands described in detail the heroic bearing of the champions of Puritanism and recorded the comforting words that passed between them and the spectators. Burton might well boast: "This day will never be forgotten . . . through these holes

[1] E.g., the cases of Leighton, in 1630; Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, in 1637; and Lilburne, who owed his arrest, in 1637, to the suspicion that he had had Puritan pamphlets printed at Rotterdam.

[2] Burton, *Apology of an Appeale*, p. 28; *Narration*, pp. 12–15.

[3] Heylyn (*op. cit.*, p. 334) admits that "it was a great trouble to the spirits of many very moderate and well-meaning men, to see the three most eminent professions in all the world (divinity, law, and physick) to be so wretchedly dishonoured in the persons of the malefactors." In a letter to Wentworth, Laud asks indignantly: "But what say you to it, that Prynne and his fellows should be suffered to talk what they pleased while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they spake, and those notes spread in written copies about the City, and that when they went out of town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God knows what else?" (*Strafforde's Letters* [Dublin, 1740], II, 99.)

[4] Puritan writers were careful to refer constantly to the victims of Mary. See, e.g., Prynne, *Anti-Arminianisme*, Dedication. It is interesting to note that Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was reprinted the sixth time in 1610 and a seventh time in 1632. On February 12, 1641, Pocklington received a harsh sentence from the House of Lords because, among other offenses, he had preached that the martyrs were "no better than hereticks and rebels." (*Lords Journals*, IV, 161.) According to Rushworth (*Historical Collections*, II, 450), a new license for Foxe's work was refused after 1637.

[5] The equivalent of the modern newspaper reporters.

(poynting to the pillary) God can bring light to his church." A woman answered: "There are many hundreds which by Gods assistance would willingly suffer for the cause you suffer for this day." [1]

Another subject of bitter dispute between Anglican and Puritan was the observance of the Lord's Day. During the last decade of the sixteenth century, there was a marked growth of Sabbatarianism. The appearance of Bownd's pamphlet, in 1595,[2] gave rise to warm controversy.[3] The Puritans eagerly supported the attempt to apply the provisions of the Mosaic law to the English Sunday and to suppress the May games, morris dances, and other sports indulged in after service in the countryside.[4] Such an attempt by the Lancashire magistrates, in 1617, caused James to issue a declaration that those who had already attended divine service might engage in certain lawful recreations afterwards. The next year, the application of this order was extended from Lancashire to all England, and every minister was directed to read from the pulpit the so-called Book of Sports.[5] The Puritans, however, utilized the sympathy of Parliament to secure the passage of two acts, in 1625 and 1628 — the one against the profanation of the Lord's Day by bear baiting, bull baiting, interludes, and common plays, and the other forbidding carriers to travel with their carts, and butchers to kill or sell, on Sundays. Nevertheless, a renewed Puritan attempt to suppress Sunday games — this time in Somerset — was responsible for a reissue of the Book of Sports in 1633, which was also to be read in every parish church. The Bishop of Bath and Wells provides a clue to the eagerness with which Episcopalians welcomed Sunday sports, when he reported to Laud that some of the ministers had ingenuously confessed that if people were denied their recreations they would go either into inns and talk, over their ale, of matters of Church or State, or else into conventicles.[6] However that may have been, the Puritans were extremely indignant at what they

[1] *A Briefe Relation* (1638), pp. 28–29.

[2] The title of the second edition is *Sabbathum Veteris et Novi Testamenti: or the True Doctrine of the Sabbath* (1606).

[3] Described in Heylyn's *The History of the Sabbath* (1636), II, 259 ff.

[4] On Sunday, says Bownd, "We are bound straitly to rest from all the ordinarie workes of our calling." (Dedication.)

[5] *English Historical Review*, XXXII (1917), 561–68.

[6] Letter of November 5, 1633, in *Canterburies Doome*, pp. 141–43 (misprinted 151).

regarded as a profanation of the Sabbath, and, notwithstanding the Book of Sports, some of them in a furious kind of ardor used to run in the streets, and even dash into private houses, in search of those engaged in their lawful pastimes, scatter the company, and break the instruments, and even the heads, of any musicians they found. Some would not suffer either baked or roast meat to be prepared on the Sabbath, or provender to be carried to a horse, or a pint of wine to be sold. Such fanaticism was not the monopoly of the middle classes, for we are told that maidservants refused to wash their dishes or clean their kitchens on the Sabbath.[1] Not infrequently, a group of zealots assembled and threw down the Maypole.[2] The extreme opponents of the Puritans sneered at their adoring the Sabbath "as an image dropt downe from Jupiter," and often mocked at the alleged perplexity of those who could not tell whether the sin were the greater to bowl or dance on the Sabbath or to commit murder.[3] Nevertheless, the Book of Sports was a direct defiance of a growing mass of public opinion, and its compulsory reading in church was an unnecessary affront to the Puritan conscience.[4]

It is clear, therefore, that King and bishops had their hands full when they tried to enforce the religious unity so dear to them. The means of coercion they used were provided by custom, by legislation, and by the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown. According to the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, every one was bound to attend divine service every Sunday, under penalty of forfeiting twelvepence for each absence; and this regulation was re-enacted early in the reign of James I.[5] In addition, there was a church regulation that each parishioner should receive the Sacrament three times a year.

If the few presentments, at quarter sessions, of absentees from church services be accepted as adequate evidence, the people of England, during the first half of the seventeenth century, were certainly regular churchgoers.[6] The apparent regularity of attendance, how-

[1] Heylyn, *History of the Sabbath*, II, 255–57; cf. Fuller, *Church History*, III, 306.

[2] *Hertfordshire County Records*, ed. William Le Hardy, V (Hertford, 1928), 249.

[3] Pocklington, *Sunday No Sabbath*, p. 20.

[4] For particulars of ministers suspended for refusing to read the Book of Sports, see *Canterburies Doome*, pp. 148–53.

[5] *Statutes of the Realm*, IV, Pt. II, 1075.

[6] In the *Worcestershire County Records* (ed. J. W. Willis Bund [Worcester, 1900], pp. lvii–lviii), there are only three presentments for the years 1603 to 1642, and, in the *Hertford*

ever, may not be proof of anything more than that the bare requirements of the law were satisfied. Since the presentments are for absences of not less than a month's duration, and often are for three months or even longer, it is probable that the local authorities enforced the law only on obstinate recusants or sectaries. The fact that around Easter time there was usually a rush to take the Sacrament three times and that the Communion was often neglected during the rest of the year, would seem to indicate that compulsory attendance did not produce devout loyalty to the Church.

Judging by sermons, attendance was slack, and, moreover, the behavior of the congregation left much to be desired. The future archbishop, Abbot, complains, for example, that, even in times of famine, few come to church, and these so carelessly and sleepily that they can scarcely be called present at all.[1] Another churchman deplores that bad weather or the least indisposition, which would never prevent men from pursuing their own pleasures, was thought a sufficient reason for staying away from church. The market, he said, was always better attended than God's church.[2] Even those actually present spent their time in gazing about to see what others did and who had the newest fashion.[3] No doubt these are rather conventional complaints, but they suggest, at least, that Anglican services aroused no great zeal.

The discipline of the Church was maintained by both spiritual and temporal means. The former consisted of penance or excommunication. By an Elizabethan statute,[4] excommunication was imposed only for heresy, refusal to have a child baptized, to receive Communion, or to attend church, or for incontinency, usury, simony, perjury in ecclesiastical courts, or idolatry. The complaint was made in the Millenary Petition that excommunications were issued for trivial offenses. This was the more serious inasmuch as the accused, if he

County Records (ed. W. J. Hardy, I [Hertford, 1905]), often several years passed without any presentment. In the *Middlesex County Records* (ed. J. C. Jeaffreson, II [*s.a.*], III [1888]) are many examples of presentments for not going to church for a month, but most of these probably refer to Roman Catholics.

[1] *An Exposition upon the Prophet Jonah* (1600), p. 420.

[2] Percy H. Osmond, *A Life of John Cosin* (1913), pp. 21–22.

[3] Shelford, *Five Discourses*, p. 52.

[4] 5 Eliz. c. 23.

failed to make his submission within forty days after being excommunicated, was liable to imprisonment.[1]

The courts were archidiaconal, diocesan, and provincial, with a Court of Delegates to which appeals might be made. However, the Court of High Commission was easily the most important of all the ecclesiastical tribunals and bore much the same relation to the Church as the Court of Star Chamber did to the State. As the result of the attempts of Coke and other common-law lawyers to limit the jurisdiction of this prerogative court by prohibitions, new letters patent were issued in 1611, whereby the High Commission was to inquire concerning all matters of heresy and schism, recusancy, writings or speeches against the Book of Common Prayer or any official of the established church, any crime done on holy ground, or interruption of divine service, and all sexual offenses and all misdemeanors whatsoever committed by any cleric.

These vast powers, which could be exercised in an inquisitorial fashion, gave the greatest umbrage to the legal profession at the time, and have been condemned by posterity. Recent investigations, however, have shown that only five per cent of the cases seem to have been initiated by the commissioners themselves, and the rest by individuals who, presumably, had confidence in the fairness and legality of the court. The majority of the cases that came before it were, in numerical order, suits for alimony and divorce, then adultery and other moral offenses, and, thirdly, simony, drunkenness, and other sins of the clergy.[2]

Since the number of ministers deprived for Puritanism is so small as to be almost negligible,[3] the unpopularity of the Court of High Commission must be explained on other grounds. Certainly, its abolition, together with that of the coercive powers of ecclesiastical courts in general, was voted in 1641 without any opposition, after many speeches had been made condemning it.[4] Presumably, animosity arose from the feeling that the existence and procedure of the Court

[1] Felix Makower, *Constitutional History of the Church of England* (1895), p. 452.

[2] R. G. Usher, *Rise and Fall of the High Commission* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 256–67, 323–24.

[3] See Gardiner, *History of England*, X, Appendix II.

[4] It is remarkable that ecclesiastical courts are main grievances in Pym's first speech to the Long Parliament. (*Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, p. 8.)

were alike contrary to the principles of English law. It may be, too, that many shared the sentiments Burton expressed in 1636 — that it was manifestly unfair that bishops and other ecclesiastics, when charged with innovation, should sit as judges upon their accusers. In other words, the Court became unpopular when the judges were also parties to the suit.[1]

It is clear that, by 1640, the Puritans were wholly estranged from the Church. Whereas in 1603 they asked only for the modification of, or permission to omit, certain ceremonies acknowledged by the heads of the Church to be "things indifferent," forty years later they clamored for the abolition of episcopacy. The propaganda they directed against the Laudian bishops was often unfair, inasmuch as it either treated Arminianism and popery as synonymous terms or implied that the one inevitably led to the other. Much of its success was due to the national prejudice against Roman Catholicism, and to fervid appeals to the people to stand firm in the religion for which the Marian martyrs had died. Nevertheless, it is probable that the Anglican leaders were mainly to blame for their own downfall, because they sought to buttress the Church by an alliance with the Crown, instead of relying upon the inherent strength of Anglicanism. They deliberately accepted, on behalf of the Church, a theory of monarchy that rapidly grew out of date, and inculcated passive obedience on a generation set upon constitutional reforms of far-reaching character. They therefore incurred all the unpopularity attendant upon Stuart methods of government, and paid the penalty when they became involved on the losing side in the Civil War.

[1] *An Apology of an Appeale*, p. 6. For a proclamation defending ecclesiastical courts, see Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, II, 450–51; *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, No. 1752.

NOTES

RECENT ACQUISITIONS BY THE LIBRARY

During the past two years the Library has made a sustained effort to build up its collection of the reference books essential to the scholar's advantageous use of the rare material already assembled. Since the plan followed has been to take one field of scholarship at a time, purchases have been mainly confined, first, to English history from 1500 to 1800, and then to English literature from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century, with special emphasis upon the Elizabethan age. Nearly 2,000 titles, in 4,200 volumes, have been added in the former, and, so far, 1,200 titles, in 1,700 volumes, in the latter. American history is now receiving similar attention. Meanwhile, the purchase of the Solano-Reeve Collection of maps and surveys has made a valuable addition to the Library's Californiana. This material includes the original manuscript maps (supplemented by elaborate survey notes and by letters, documents, etc.) of practically all of the great ranches of Los Angeles and Orange counties in the thirty years preceding 1890, and throws much light on the rise and development of urban activities in this hitherto pastoral region.

For the first time, acknowledgment is made in the *Bulletin* of gifts to the Library, for two considerable collections have been donated during the past year. Mr. and Mrs. August A. Rubel, of Piru, California, presented nearly 300 items — newspapers, state documents, and miscellaneous pamphlets — mainly relating to California during the early American period. This collection is the more noteworthy because it includes more than 100 items from California presses in the 1850's, of which 60 were printed in southern California during this decade for which specimens of local printing are rare. Mr. W. E. Stuart Menteith, of London, gave the Library 56 manuscripts in Spanish, chiefly records of the Inquisition in Mexico, from about 1583 to 1824.

L. E. B.

THE IRISH *MODUS TENENDI PARLIAMENTUM*

Among the manuscripts in the Bridgewater House Library, which came into the possession of the Huntington Library in 1917, is the only extant original of the Irish *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* — exemplified in 1419 by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and his Council, and almost certainly acquired by Lord Ellesmere, lord chancellor in the reign of James I. There are six other known manuscripts of this document. They are all transcripts and fall into two groups: one labeled Irish and containing two manuscripts; and the other English, with four. The importance of the Huntington Library manuscript is brought out in the *English Historical Review*, for October, 1933, by Miss M. V. Clarke. In an article entitled "The Manuscripts of the Irish *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*," she shows that the Huntington Library manuscript was the source of the English transcripts in the seventeenth century and appends a collation of it and of the version printed from one of these transcripts.

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